

STUDIES IN INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY

Vol. III

BY

P. K. Gode, M. A., D Litt. (Paris)

Curator

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

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On the 15th of August 1951 the Committee issued an appeal signed by over 70 well-known personalities in different walks of life from all over India inviting contributions to the proposed fund. The Committee is grateful to all the contributors to this fund for their spontaneous and generous response. A list of these contributors is appended to this Foreword.

Thanks to the co-operation of these friends and the press, the Committee has been able at long last to publish the third volume of Dr. Gode's papers, which contains 28 papers and extends over 260 pages.

We are happy to record that Ācārya Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Director, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, has offered to publish the fourth volume of Dr. Gode's papers dealing with Indian cultural history. The printing of this volume has just been started. We feel confident that the printing of the fifth volume also will be started before the fourth volume is out.

On this occasion of the publication of the third volume of his papers we wish Dr. Gode long life full of health and activity. We are glad to note that Dr. Gode is still pursuing all his research activities with the same energy and vigour as hitherto

Ashadhi Ekadashi }
 18th July 1956 }
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PREFACE

I have great pleasure in presenting to the world of scholars this third volume of my *Studies in Indian Literary History*, which is a continuation of Volumes I and II of these *Studies* published by my esteemed friend Ācārya Munī Jīnavijayaḥ in the *Singhi Jain Series* of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. As these two volumes were brought out solely through the benefaction of Ācārya Jīnavijayaḥ the present volume is being published through the goodwill and active efforts of my affectionate friends Dr A. D. Pusalker and Prof. N. A. Gore in organising the Committee for the publication of my *Collected Works* and collecting the necessary funds for it. The Foreword of the Committee to the present volume with the list of my friends, who have generously contributed towards the cost of its publication, gives me added confidence and encouragement in my life's work viz. my *Studies in Indian Literary and Cultural history* on which, I have spent the last forty years of my life. God willing, I may still do some more useful work in this field. I cannot adequately thank all these friends who have made the publication of this volume possible. Special thanks are due to all the members of the Committee and in particular to its Chairman Principal J. R. Gharpure, whose blessings I have enjoyed during the last quarter of a century, to Dr. R. N. Dandekar (Treasurer) for his advice and co-operation in the publication of the three volumes of my studies and in various other matters pertaining to them and to Dr. Pusalker and Prof. Gore, who prepared at great inconvenience to themselves the Indices to my volumes and who spared no pains in collecting the Publication Fund for my works, not to say their active help in the editing of the third volume. But for the efforts of Dr. Pusalker and Prof. Gore this third volume of my studies would not have seen the light of the day.

Judging by the numerous appreciative reviews of Vols. I and II of my *Studies* published in India and outside so far I have reason to believe that my continuous research work during the last four decades of my life has been found useful by all experts and laymen interested in the field of my studies. This belief of mine is further confirmed by the translations of some of my articles in Hindi and other languages of India that have appeared during the last fifteen years. I derived much inspiration for my research work from two gurus viz. the late Dr. P. D. Gune and Dr. R. D. Ranade, both of whom were among the prominent founders of the B. O. R.

Institute. It was on the advice of both these gurus that I joined the Institute on 26-4-1919 I owe to them a deep debt of gratitude. In partial redemption of this debt I have dedicated Vol I of my Studies to Dr Gune and his esteemed friend Muni Shri Jinavijayaji. I, have also succeeded with the help of Dr Gune's friends, pupils, admirers and children in collecting Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Fund, which was handed over to the University of Poona in 1955 by myself and my friend Prof. C. R. Devadhar on behalf of the Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Committee. The Poona University has kindly accepted the amount of this fund and a "Dr P D Gune Memorial Lecture-ship" has been founded by them. Though my debt to Dr. Ranade is irredeemable it is my pleasant duty to dedicate the present volume to him as a token of my reverence and gratitude to him on the occasion of the completion of his 70th year on 3rd July 1956. I pray God to give him long life and good health to inspire his pupils, friends and devotees in walks, both spiritual and temporal.

In the correction of proofs of the present volume I have received considerable help from my friends Shri S. N. Savadi and Shri G N. Shrigondekar of the B. O R. Institute. I convey to them my cordial thanks for this unstinted help and co-operation. Finally I have to convey my hearty thanks to Shri M. S. Sathe, the Manager of the Prājñā Press, Wai, and all workers of this Press for the neat and careful printing of the volume

As this volume is being published the printing of the fourth volume of my Studies has been started by the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. This volume will contain some of my articles on Indian Cultural History I record here my best thanks to my affectionate friend Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri, the Director of this Institute for his friendly act (bandhu-krtya) in persuading his committee to undertake this volume for publication in their series.

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute,
Poona 4,
30 th July 1956

}

P. K Gode

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To
MY GURU

Professor

Dr. Ramachandra Dattatraya Ranade, M. A., D Litt.

1. The Gandhasāra of Gaṅgādhara — An Unknown Treatise on Gandhasāstra and its Critical Analysis *

In his delightful and scholarly account of Indian Toilet¹ Dr. G. P. Majumdar has collected a good deal of historical information about scents and perfumes as manufactured and used by our forefathers. The sources ransacked by Dr. Majumdar for this information are (1) the Vedic texts, (2) Pali texts, (3) *Suśruta Samhitā*, (4) *Śukranīti*, (5) *Arthaśāstra*, (6) *Agnipurāṇa*, (7) *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (section on *Gandhayukti*), (8) *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparvan*), (9) *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*, (10) *Kūmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, (11) *Lalitavistara*, (12) *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, (13) *Yuktikalpataru* of King Bhoja, (14) *Nṛtyaśāstra* of Bharata, (15) *Amarakośa*, (16) *Materia Medica of the Hindus*, by U. C. Datta, etc. On the strength of data gathered from these sources Dr. Majumdar concludes as follows.—

“ Thus it may be seen that most of the ingredients of Indian toilet, flowers, garlands, perfumes, scents, cosmetics, paints, ointments and pastes were derived from plants. For the patterns of ornaments too men were equally indebted to the plant world—the trees, leaves, flowers, fruits and creepers.”

In view of the evidence about the wide-spread use of scents and cosmetics in Ancient India we are tempted to inquire if there existed any special treatises on the manufacture of these cosmetics and scents, containing recipes about their manufacture in detail. We have reason to believe that some such treatises did exist but unfortunately no manuscripts of these treatises have yet been discovered or recorded in our MSS catalogues of different libraries. For a long time I was on a look-out for such MSS and fortunately two such MSS of two different works on *Gandhasāstra* have been discovered by me. I propose, therefore, to give in this paper a critical notice of one of these MSS for the benefit of scholars interested in the history of Indian Cosmetics

Some years ago the late Pandit Rangacharya Raddi presented a collection of MSS to the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona. This collection called the Raddi Collection contains a bundle consisting of two works on

* Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XIV, Part II, pp 44-50.

¹ Face Ch IV (pp 82-106) of *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*, by G. P. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1938.

Gandhasūtra, viz., (1) the *Gandhasāra*, by Gaṅgādhara, and (2) *Gandhavāda*. Both these works are unknown to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or to the Editors of the *Revised Cata. Catalogorum* that is being prepared by the University of Madras ¹

The manuscript is written on country paper and appears to be about 200 years old. It consists of 49 folios (11 inches × 4½ inches) with 11 lines on each page. The folios comprising the two works are as follows —

Folios 1 to 27a — गन्धसार of गङ्गाधर.

Folios 27b to 49 — गन्धवाद with Marathi commentary.

The *Gandhasāra* ² begins as follows on *Folio 1* —

“ श्रीगणेशायनम ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नम ॥

विरिंचिविष्णुप्रमुखामराप्सरो—

गधर्वयक्षोरगराजसेवित ।

शैलात्मजाबाहुलताप्रसाधित

स व्योमकेशो मुदमादधातु न ॥१॥

परिसप्रसर्पन्मधुगधलुब्ध—

लोलालिमालाकुलकर्णतालं ।

भजे गजास्य गिरिजातनूज

विघ्नछिद निर्जरवृद्धसेव्य ॥२॥

विरिंचिवक्त्रांबुजराजहंसी

देवीं नमस्कृत्य च गन्धयक्ष ।

गधागमज्ञाश्च सितैर्वचोभि—

र्वक्ष्ये ससार शुभगधसार ॥३॥

¹ My friend Dr V. Raghavan, who is in charge of the *Revised Cata. Catalogorum*, has informed me that no MSS of the *Gandhasāra* and *Gandhavāda* have come to his notice so far

² Vide article on *Cosmetics* in *Encyclo Britannica*, Vol 6, (14th Edn), pp 485-488 Cosmetics are substances of diverse origin scientifically compounded and used (1) to cleanse, (2) to allay skin troubles, (3) to cover up imperfections, and (4) to beautify. They have been used by men and women from the earliest times *Probably they originated in the East*. Egypt has the earliest records of them from 3500 B. C onwards as follows —

3500 B. C —Unguent vase in alabaster (British Museum).

2800 B. C —Mirrors of 6th Dynasty

1500 B. C.—Kohl vases in glass and Stibium pencils of 18th Dynasty.

Do —Papyrus showing men and women having lumps of *nard* on the top of head.

1850 B. C —Unguent vases found in Tutan Khamun's tomb contained aromatics which were still fragrant when opened.

1600 B. C.—A granite tablet on a Sphinx portraying the offering of incense and fragrant oil or unguent.

The Bible refers to cosmetics used by Jewish women. The Koran refers to aromatics. Nero (A. D 54) and his wife made free use of perfumes and cosmetics. The Romans used almond, rose or quince for solid unguents. Liquid ones were made from flowers, spices and gums.

देवानां शुभगंधधूपसहितस्यार्चाविधेरपकं
नृणां पुष्टिकरं त्रिवर्गफलदं स्वस्याप्यलक्ष्मीहरं ॥४॥
राज्ञां तोषकरं विदग्धवनिताचित्तप्रमोदप्रदं
शास्त्रं सच्छुभगंधशासनमतो दिङ्मात्रमत्रोच्यते ॥५॥

तत्रादौ परिभाषा ॥ ¹

भावनं पाचनं बोधो वेधो धूपनवासने ।
एव षडत्र कर्माणि द्रव्यपूक्तानि कोविदैः ॥६॥
पिष्ट्वा गंधावुनि द्रव्याण्युक्तान्यालोक्ष्य भावयेत् ।
भाष्यं संशोषयेत्पश्चादेवं वारास्तु पचपन् ॥७॥
कुर्याद्भावनमेतत्स्यात्पाकं स्याद्बहुधा यथा ।
पंचपत्रपुटावद्धं मृत्तिस्रं चांगुलोद्धतं ॥८॥
पचेत्कारीशके वह्नौ पुटपाकोऽयमीरितः ।
गते पात्रे गंधगर्भं कृत्वापर्यं मृदावटं ॥९॥
प्रज्वाल्योस्मिस्तदुपरि गर्तपाको भवेदयः ।
नालिकां द्रव्यगर्भां तु रीद्रे कुर्याद्विमुद्रितं ॥१०॥
सप्ताहं वेणुपाकं स्यादग्नौ वा स्वेदनेऽनुना ।
वस्त्रं गंधद्रव्यगर्भं भाडे समुद्रितेतरा ॥११॥
स्वेद्यं गंधावुवाप्तेण दोलापाके विधिस्त्वयं ।
सभावनाद्यवुद्रव्यं गर्भे पुटितकर्पटे ॥१२॥
मुद्रिते मुद्रितं बृहत्सुत्तर्परपुटे न्यसेत् ।
तले प्रज्वालेद्बहिः यावदंतं स्थितं जलं ॥१३॥
शुष्येत्तत्तर्परपाकोऽयं मातुलुंगातरे स्थितः ।
अपनीय ततो वाह्याभ्यतरं परिवर्त्य च ॥१४॥
द्रव्यं तन्मध्यगं कृत्वा पिपचेत्पुटपाकवत् ।
पाकोऽयं वैजयूरः स्याद्विल्वे तद्वच्चकारभ ॥१५॥
शिशुमूलाभ्यन्तरे च तद्वत्पाकस्तु मूलजः ।
भाडं गंधद्रव्यगर्भं मुद्रितं जलपूरिते ॥१६॥
स्थूले भाडे स्थितं पाकाद्धसपाकोऽनले भवेत् ।

¹ Vide article on *Perfumes* in *Encyclo. Britannica* (14th Edn.) Vol. 17, pp. 505-507. Perfumes are substances which by their fragrance gratify the sense of smell. The history of perfumes is closely associated with that of cosmetics. Many of the earliest forms were made by digesting odorous vegetable substances with *sesame*, *almond*, or *olive oil*. The principle underlying this process is still made use of although in an improved form, which is called *Maceration*.—This article then deals with such topics as *D'stillation*, *Expression*, *Extraction*, *Animal Perfumes*, *Balsams*, *Gums* and *Oleo-resins*, *Synthetic* and *Isolates*, *Artificial Flower-oils* and *Finished Perfumes*.

स्याद्धान्यराशिमध्यस्थे कालपाकश्चिरेण स. ॥१७॥”

Folio 4—Colophon of 1st *Prakaraṇa* reads —

“ इति गंगाधरकृतौ गंधसारे परिभाषाप्रकरणं प्रथमं । अथ गंधोदकानि ।
नतसुरदानवसेन्यो गौरीकुचकलशजलशाली ।
वरभुजगाधिपभूषो हर सचद्र. प्रमोदमादध्यात् ॥”

Folio 5a—“ प्रथातराद्रधजलभेदा ॥ छ ॥ इति पचविधगंधजलं यथोत्तरं ॥ ”

Folio 5b—“ इति गंधोदकानि

Folio 6b— “ अथ पारिजाता ”

Folio 7b— “ मुखवासः ” “ प्रयुक्तमुखवासश्च धूपितालयमध्यगः । सेवेत गंधतैलं हर
मनोहर ॥२॥ ”

Folio 8b— “ अथोद्वर्त्तनानि ”

Folio 10a— “ अथ स्नानं । गौरीकरजभिर्जदुकलांशरसमिश्रितं ।

गंगासलिलमीशस्य स्नानकारि पुनातु व. ॥ ”

Folio 11a-- “ अथ जलवास ॥

सुवर्णपद्मधूलीभिर्वासितं चद्रशीतलं ।

सुरलोकनदीसंगशुद्ध नीर पुनातु व ॥ ”

Folio 12a— “ अथ मृगराजः ”. . . “ अथ धूपा ”

Folio 15b-- “ अथ वर्ति ॥

दवदग्धकोशकारकसिक्थयुतैर्विमलवस्त्रसवद्धैः ।

गंधद्रव्यैः पिष्टैः छायाशुष्कास्तु वर्तय कार्या. ॥ ”

Folio 17a-- “ अथ धूलन ॥

लतामदिरमध्यस्थ पुष्परेणुविभूषित ।

वनमालाधर कृष्णः प्रमोद विदधातु व ॥ ”

Folio 17b— “ अथ निर्यास ”

Folio 18a-- “ अथ स्यदु ”. “ अथ कुसुमादि हुति ”

Folio 19a-- “ अथ कृत्रिमद्रव्याणि ”

Folios 21 22-- “ अथ द्रव्यमेलकप्रकार ॥

इष्टद्रव्ये मितानकानेकादींश्च विलोमत ।

लिखित्वा तदधश्चैव तानेव क्रमशो लिखेत् ॥ १ ॥

एकोन भाति तेषां लब्धमेकस्य कीर्तिता ।

प्रस्तारस्तेन गुणिते परे च द्विविभाजिते ॥ २ ॥

लब्ध द्वियोगप्रस्तारस्त्रयादि योगोऽथयं विधि ।

पूर्वोदितेष्वपि च कछपुटेषु चिद्धा
द्वि त्र्यादिभाग परिकल्पना यात्र गंधान् ।
संयोज्ययेदुचितपाचनधूपबोध-
वेदाद्यभिज्ञकथितागमसंप्रदायैः ॥ १ ॥
एव प्रस्तार पट्कर्म परीक्षा शोधनादिवित् ।
यो गंध योजयेत्स स्यात् श्रेयः कीर्त्योरिहास्पदम् ॥ ५ ॥ छ ॥

इति गंगाधरकृतौ गन्धसारे गंधोदकादिनागगंधोपयोगि प्रकरणं द्वितीयम् ॥ ”

Folio 22-- “ परीक्षितैर्गंधवर्गैः प्रयुक्तैः सुजनैर्जनैः ।
मोदितो भुजगेन्दुभ्यां जपत्यद्रिसुतापति ॥ १ ॥
अथ द्रव्यनिघटुस्तत्परीक्षा च निगद्यते ।
याम्यां ज्ञात्वा परीक्षापि तानि गंधेषु योजयेत् ॥ २ ॥
अमु निघटू चंबुनिधिं वक्तु कास्त्वेन क. क्षमः ।
किंतु स्वच्यवहारार्थं किंचिदुदघृत्य कथ्यते ॥ ३ ॥ ”

The *Dravyas* are classified into different *Vargas* as follows —

तालीसपत्र, झूल, रामकर्पूर, प्रतापा, दमन, मूर्चा or मरूवा, तुलसी--इति पत्रवर्ग
लवंग, कुंकुम केसर, केतकी, कदंबः, वकुल, सुरपुनाग, शतपुष्पा, मालती, जाई, माधवी,
कुंद, मुचकुंदः, चंपक,¹ सुरपुष्पी, त्रियंगु, शेफाली--इति पुष्पवर्ग (folio 23).
मरीच, ककोळ, सूक्ष्मैला, स्थूलैला, जाईफल, रेणुका, हरीतकी, आमलकी, लताकस्तूरी,
चोरपुष्पी, सोफ, धनिया (धानकं), विहाणी, शांडिल्य, श्रीफल, सरैसी--इति फलवर्ग
(folio 23).

कर्पूरत्वक्, तज, लवगत्वक्, थैलवालुक, पलावालुक, नली, खर्जूरकौश, अशोकत्वक्, लगतु,
खर्जूर (folio 24).

चंदन, अगुरु, रत्नाचंदन, देवदारु, मंजिष्ठा, इक्षु--इति काष्ठवर्ग (folio 25).

कूण, पुष्करमूल, भद्रमुस्ता, गंधमुस्ता, महासुगंध, गाठिवन, धुणेरा, वाल, उशीर, लाम-
जक, जदामासी, कर्पूर--इति मूलवर्ग (folio 25).

कर्पूर, मिल्हारासः, बोल, गुग्गुलु, श्रीवास, सरल, राल, शर्करा--इति निर्यासवर्ग
कस्तूरी, सयाल, नखी, घृत, मधु, मयण, लाक्षा, वंशलोचन--इति जीववर्ग.

अथैषा परीक्षा । . . . पत्राणि, . . . पुष्पाणि, . . . मूलानि, . . . निर्यास, . . .
जीवानि (folio 27)

“ इत्थं शालितगंधशास्त्रसतताभ्यासात्ममासादित-
प्रज्ञोन्मेषविशेषशालिभणितिर्गंगाधर कोविदः ।

¹ The use of चम्पक oil by ladies is illustrated by the following Subhāṣita.—

“वक्षोजौ निविडं निरुद्धप सिचयेनाकुञ्च्य मध्य शनैः । कृत्वा चम्पकनैलसेकमचला मपीज्य मन्द शिरः ।
पाणिभ्या चलच्छृणोयतत्तनत्करोत्तराभ्या करो । त्वभ्यङ्गं परिपश्यत. समुत्तु क दारेन्तरप्रेषस. ॥ ”

शास्त्रं दुर्गमविप्रकीर्णवित्त संगृह्य वाक्यैर्व्यधात्
ह (?) त्सारं तनोत्वयमिहाचन्द्रार्कतार स्थितिं ॥ १९ ॥

अनुना वर राजार्द्धं घनसारजुषा मम ।

अथेन गन्धसारेण प्रीयतां पार्वतीपति ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीगंगाधरस्य कृतौ गन्धसारे निघटुपरिसारे निघटुपरीक्षादि प्रकरणं तृतीय ॥ ”

(folio 27)

The foregoing analysis of the rare MS of this treatise on *Gandhaśāstra* gives us the following information about its author and the scope of the treatise with allied particulars —

(1) Gaṅgādhara is the author of the work. He calls himself *Kovida*, i.e., an expert in this science of Cosmetics and Perfumery designated as *Gandhaśāstra*.

(2) The name of the work is *Gandhasāra* as stated by our author in all the colophons as also in the verses at the beginning and end of the work.

(3) The *Gandhaśāstra* is called by our author as दुर्गम (difficult to comprehend), विप्रकीर्ण (the materials of which are of a scattered nature) and वित्त (vast in its scope or extensive) Consequently our author compiled this treatise by gathering materials from several sources (संगृह्य वाक्यैः व्यधात्)

(4) Though our author has composed his treatise on the basis of earlier materials he does not mention any work or author by name. This circumstance makes it difficult for us to fix the chronology of the author and his work. In one or two places he merely states “ अथांतरात् ” but he never mentions any ग्रंथ or its author.

(5) Our author bows to the gods : (i) व्योमकेश or पार्वतीपति, i.e., Śiva, (ii) गजास्य or Ganapati, (iii) देवी (Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech) and (iv) गन्धर्वयक्ष or गन्धयक्ष (the presiding deity of the गन्धशास्त्र) attending upon God Śiva.

(6) Our author, though himself an expert (or कोविद्) in *Gandhaśāstra* bows to his predecessors in the field, who are styled as “ गन्धागमज्ञान् ”.

(7) Our author mentions six processes in the manufacture of Cosmetics, viz —

(i) भावन—Infusing or saturating powders with fluid.

(ii) पाचन—Ripening or cooking or decoction of materials which have undergone the process of भावन

(iii) बोध—This is defined as follows (fol 2) --

“बोधस्तु बोधकैर्द्रव्यैः कुचमोलसुरादिभिः ।

दशापिंडचतुर्यांशो बोधस्यात्ते दलाह्वयाः ॥”

(iv) वेध—“वेधो हींदुमदाकांखचलक्रीरोनुचदकै ।

कार्यं कचिद्बोधकैश्च मित्रामित्रविवेकत ॥

द्वीपाशा. शुक्रशाल्यकनखासिलहालवाद्य. ।

वेधेयतेश्च पिंडश्च कलाशो ६४ ध शताशक ॥

देयश्चद्रस्तजल च चंद्राब्धिगुणितो मद ।

द्विशताशस्तैलवेधे चंद्रांशद्विगुणो मद ॥”

(v) धूपन—Fumigating with aromatic vapours of incense, etc.

(vi) वासन—Scenting with the perfumes of flowers, etc.

(8) In dealing with पाचन our author describes some varieties of पाक such as (1) पुटपाक, (2) गर्तपाक, (3) वेणुपाक, (4) दोलापाक, (5) खर्परपाक, (6) वैजयूरपाक, (7) कालपाक, etc. Indian physicians are familiar with these processes of manufacturing medicines, which were obviously used for the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumes.

(9) The treatise consists of three chapters as follows —

(i) परिभाषा प्रकरण, explaining the technical terminology about the *Gandhasūtra* ;

(ii) गंधोदकादि नानागंधोपयोगि प्रकरण, dealing with the manufacture of different kinds of aromatic products such as गंधोदक, पारिजात, मुखवास, गंधतैल, वर्ति, निर्यास, जलवास, स्यंदु, धूलन etc.

(iii) निघटुपरिसारे निघटुपरीक्षादि प्रकरण, which first gives a glossary of aromatic materials classified under (1) *Leaves*, (2) *flowers*, (3) *fruits*, (4) *barks*, (5) *sticks* and (6) *roots* The author then states how these materials are to be examined before they are used for manufacture.

It appears to me even from my non technical study of this rare treatise that its author Gaṅgādhara had a thorough knowledge of the science of *Gandhasūtra*. He has also successfully attempted in the present treatise to systematise this knowledge for the benefit of humanity because (1) it is useful in the worship of the gods which requires गंध and धूप, (2) it contributes to the nourishment of men, (3) it enables men to realize the fruits of the three objects of human existence, viz., धर्म, अर्थ and काम, (त्रिवर्ग-फलदं), (4) it pleases the Kings and (5) it gladdens the minds of accomplished women, and (6) it removes one's poverty also (स्वस्य अपि अलङ्गीहर्)

According to the statement of the writer of the article on Cosmetics in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the Cosmetics had their origin probably

in the East though the earliest records about their use about 3500 B. C. and even earlier are found in Egypt. In view of the suggested Eastern origin of the *Gandhaśāstra* a systematic history of this Science and art from Sanskrit and allied sources needs to be elaborately reconstructed. For this reconstruction the present treatises viz., the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara and the *Gandhavāda* with Marathi commentary will be very helpful. In the present paper I have only analysed the MS of the *Gandhasāra* and have reserved a study of the MS of the *Gandhavāda* for a separate paper.

The Romans made use of the *rose* in the preparation of solid unguents. In the *Gandhasāra* no reference to the *rose* is found. The use of rose in the manufacture of perfumery began very late in India i. e., in the latter half of the 18th Century as proved by me in two papers ¹ regarding the manufacture of rose-water in India.

According to the *Vaiśeṣikas*, *Gandha* or smell is one of the 24 properties or *guṇas*. It is a characteristic property of the *Pṛthivī* or earth. Earth is accordingly defined as गन्धवती पृथिवी. Buchanan ² in his account of the Perfumery industry in Bihar and Arwal about A. D. 1811 mentions the manufacture of an essence having the smell of dry clay as follows —

“The most strange of these essences is that made with the *clay*, which communicates to oil of Sandal-wood the smell, which dry clay emits, when first wetted and which to me is far from agreeable. It sells at 1½ rupee for each rupee weight.” पृथिवी is गन्धवती indeed ¹. The word गन्ध in its bearing on perfumes has considerably influenced the Sanskrit language as will be seen from the following terminology recorded by Mr. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* —

गन्ध — Pounded sandal-wood.

गन्धं—Black aloe wood.

गन्धाधिक—A kind of perfume

गन्धांबु—Fragrant water.

गन्धास्त्र—The wild lemon tree.

गन्धाश्मन्—Sulphur

गन्धाष्टक—Mixture of 8 fragrant substances offered to deities varying

¹ These papers are — “Some Sanskrit Verses on the Manufacture of Rose-water,” etc (*Poona Orientalist*, Vol VIII, pp 1—8) and “Buchanan’s Account of the Manufacture of Rose-water and perfumes (A. D. 1811) in Bihar and Arwal (*New Indian Intiquary*, Vol VII)

² Vide p 633 of *Patna Gaya Report*, Vol II, Published by Bihar & Oriṣa Res Society, Patna

in kind according to the nature of the deity to whom they are offered.

गन्धास्तु —The musk-rat.

गन्धाजीव —The vendor of perfumes.

गन्धाढ्य—Rich in odour, very fragrant “ सज्जश्रोत्तमगन्धाढ्य ” (Mb.).

गन्धाढ्य —The orange tree.

गन्धाढ्यं--Sandal-wood.

गन्धहस्तिन्—The scent elephant.

“ यस्य गन्धं समाग्राय न तिष्ठति प्रतिद्विषा ।

स वै गन्धगजो नाम नृपतेर्विजयावह ॥ ”

गन्धोपजीविन्—A perfumer.

गन्धोतुः—The civet-cat.

गन्धकारिका—A female servant whose business it is to prepare perfumes.

गन्धकाष्ठ—Aloe-wood.

गन्धकुटी—A kind of perfume.

गन्धकेलिका (चेलिका)--Musk.

गन्धतैल--Fragrant oil.

गन्धदारु--Aloe-wood.

गन्धधारिन्--An epithet of Śiva.

गन्धधूलि —Musk.

गन्धनकुल—Musk-rat

गन्धनिलया--A kind of jasmine.

गन्धपत्रा—A species of zedoary.

गन्धपलाशिका--Turmeric.

गन्धपाषाण.--Sulphur.

गन्धपिश, गन्धपिशाचिका--Smoke of burnt fragrant-resin, supposed to attract demons by fragrance.

गन्धपुष्प —Vetasa plant.

गन्धपुष्प--Flowers and sandal offered to deities at the time of worship.

गन्धपुष्पा--An indigo plant.

गन्धफली—The *Priyangu* creeper—A bud of the campaka tree.

गन्धवंधु.--The mango tree.

गन्धमादन--A large black bee; Sulphur;

—Name of a mountain to the east of Meru renowned for its fragrant forests.

गन्धमादनी—Spirituos liquor.

गन्धमादिनी—Lac

गधमृग—Musk deer.

गधमैथुन —A bull.

गधमोहिनी—A bud of the campaka tree.

गंधयुक्ति—Preparation of perfumes “एषा मया सेविता गन्धयुक्ति ”
(*Mrcchakatika* 8, *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* 1, 231; *Mudrārākṣasa* 1. 4).

गधरस—Myrrh

गधागक.—Turpentine.

गंधराजः—Kind of jasmine

गंधलता —The priyaṅgu creeper.

गधवहः—The wind.

गंधवाह —Musk deer.

गधविह्वल —Wheat

गधवृक्ष—The *Śāla* tree

गधव्याकुल—A kind of fragrant berry (कक़ोल).

गधशुडिनी—Musk-rat.

गधशेखर—Musk

गधसार —Sandal, kind of jasmine.

गधसुखी (सूयी)—The musk shrew

गधसोम—The white water lily

गधहारिका—A female servant whose business is to prepare perfumes.

Cf गधकारिका

The above collection of words has many cultural associations characteristic of Indian life as reflected in classical Sanskrit. For any systematic study of the Indian science and art of perfumery on the basis of extant literature, technical or otherwise, it is necessary to prepare a comprehensive glossary of terms pertaining to this science and art. In the absence of such a glossary it is difficult to understand the terminology peculiar to the *Gandhaśāstra* as used in such treatises as the *Gandhaśāra* of Gaṅgādhara and the *Gandhavāda* with Marathi commentary now discovered by me.

That there were special treatises (before A. D. 1000) on *Gandhaśāstra* by Lokeśvara and others is proved by the following stanzas of Padmaśrī, the Buddhist author of the work on erotics, viz., *Nāgarasarvasva* (ed. by T. Tripathi, Bombay, 1921)

Pages 11-15 (गन्धाधिकार) Stanzas 1 and 2.—

“ नानाविदग्धवासा मुख्या मदनप्रदीपका र्यात ।
वरकामुक प्रयत्नाच्छिष्येतादौ सुगन्धशास्त्रेभ्य ॥ १ ॥
लोकेश्वरादिकेभ्योऽपटुमतिदुर्बोधगन्धशास्त्रेभ्य ।
संगृह्य सारभागं प्रविधास्ये सुप्रसिद्धपदैः ॥ २ ॥ ”

The Cosmetics and Perfumes as described by Padmaśrī (c A. D. 1000) in the chapter called the *Gandhādihikāra* and explained by his commentator Jagajyotirmalla of Nepal (c A D 1617-1633) are as follows —

- (1) केशपटवास prepared from नख, कर्पूर, कुङ्कुम, अगुरु, शिल्हक and शित शर्करा
- (2) कक्षवास prepared from पत्रक, शैलज, शिल्हक, कुङ्कुम, सुस्ता, बभया हरीतकी and गुड
- (3) गुहवास: prepared from कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, कुङ्कुम, नख, मासि (जटामासि ?), वाल (चन्दन), अगुरु, (श्रीखड) and गुड.
- (4) मुखवास prepared from जातीफल, कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, चूतवारि (आन्नरस), अगुरु, शिल्हक, मधु, गुड सित (शर्करा) for ordinary persons.
- (5) वदनवास (for Kings) prepared from त्वक्, एला, मासि (जटामासि), शठी, अगुरु, कुङ्कुम, सुस्त, घनचन्दन, जातीफल, लवङ्ग, कट्कोल, कर्पूर, वशरोचन, शर्करा, सहकार, (आन्नरस)
- (6) जलवास. (for Kings) prepared from सूक्ष्मैला, कस्तूरी, कुष्ट, तगर, पत्र, चन्दन—This preparation is called मलयानिल-जलवास.
- (7) पूगवास (for Kings) prepared from कुष्ट, तगर, जातीफल, कर्पूर, लवङ्ग, एला and पूगफल
- (8) स्नानीय चूर्णवास prepared from त्वक्, अगुरु, सुस्त, तगर, चौर, शठी, ग्रन्थि, पर्ण, नख, कस्तूरी
- (9) चतु सम prepared from कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, कुङ्कुम, चन्दन
- (10) उद्धर्तन (for Kings) prepared from कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, चन्दन, शैलेय, नाग (नागकेशर), अगुरु
- (11) चूर्ण (for Kings) prepared from शैलज, वाल, लवङ्ग, त्वक्, पत्र, सुरभिश्िल्ह, तगर, मासी, कुष्ट.
- (12) रतिनाय धूपवर्ति (for Kings) prepared from कर्पूर, अगुरु, चन्दन, पूति (पूतिस्त्रज), प्रियङ्गु, वाल, मासी
- (13) रतिनायकान्ता धूपवर्ति prepared from नख, अगुरु, शिल्हक, वाल, कुन्दुर, शैलेय, चन्दन, इयाना.

- (14) मदनोद्भव दीपवर्ति (for royal palace) prepared from देवदारु, मरुवक,
मुस्त, लाक्षा, अगुरु, शालचूर्ण, कर्पूर
(15) दीपवर्ति (another variety) made of गन्धरस, अगुरु, गुग्गुलु, सर्जरस,
पूति, कर्पूर.

Padmaśrī's chapter on Cosmetics and Perfumes analysed above gives us in a nut-shell some of the popular products and their aromatic ingredients ¹ as current in c. 1000 A. D., and even earlier. This chapter, therefore, provides us a good technical back-ground for the more elaborate systematisation of the *Gandhaśāstra* as we notice in the *Gandhasāra* and *Gandhavāda*, which are obviously later than A. D. 1000.

¹ For the identification of these ingredients readers are requested to consult the Sanskrit tippaṇi of Mr. Tripathi, which is very learned and critical.

2. Vanamāli Mis'ra, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and His Works — Between A. D. 1600 and 1660 *

ACCORDING to Aufrecht ¹ Bhaṭṭoji had a pupil of the name कृष्णदत्तमिश्र called also वनमालिमिश्र. He was the son of महेशमिश्र and composed a work called the कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. Vanamāli Miśra also composed a work called संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका, ² a MS of which has been described by Stein.³ It begins as follows. —

“ महेश्वरं नमस्कृत्य वनमाली महेशजः ।
करोति संध्यामंत्राणां व्याख्यां ब्रह्मप्रकाशिकां ॥ ”

It ends. —

“ भट्टोजिदीक्षितं नत्वा कृत्वा ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका ।
व्याख्येयं संध्यामंत्राणां मिश्रेण वनमालिना ॥
वेदार्थज्ञाने न शक्ता विप्रा वेदार्थवादिना ।
संध्याख्येयं समालोक्य दृढता क्षम्यता मम ॥

इति श्रीभट्टोजिदीक्षितशिष्यकुरुक्षेत्रनिवासिमहेशमित्रात्मजवनमालिमिश्रविरचिताया संध्यामन्त्र-
व्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका समाप्ता ”

Kondabhaṭṭa, the nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita composed a work called वैयाकरणभूषण. One वनमालिमिश्र composed a commentary on this work called “ वैयाकरणमतोन्मज्जना ⁴ ” and another work called “ सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक. ” ⁵ As the

* *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. X, Part 4, pp. 231-235

1 CC, I, 120 — “ कृष्णदत्तमिश्र called also वनमालिमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप L 2257 ” MS L 2257 is described by B. Mitra in his *Notes*, VII, 1884, pp. 12-14. It ends. — “ इति श्रीकुरुक्षेत्रनिवासिमहेशमिश्रपुत्रेण श्रीभट्टोजिदीक्षितशिष्येण श्रीमदनमालिमिश्रेण सरचित. कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. समाप्तं सवत् १९२५ ” (= A.D. 1869) This is a guide to the sacred places in Kurukṣetra.

2 CC, II, 130 — “ वनमालिमिश्र son of महेश, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका ”

CO, III, 117 — Do.

CO, III, 144 — “ संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका by वनमालिमिश्र son of महेश IL ”

3 *Catalogus of Jamia MSS*, 1894, p. 21 (MS No. 5210)

4 CC, I, 614 — “ वैयाकरणभूषणमतोन्मज्जनी by Vanamāli Miśra, L. 1763 N. P. VII, 63. ”

CC, II, 146 — “ Stein 48. ”

5 CC, I, 712 — “ सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक ” On Syntax by Vanamāli Miśra, Lahore 6. ”

MSS of these works are not accessible to me, I am unable to say if this वनमालिमिश्र, the commentator of a work of Bhaṭṭoji's nephew, is identical with his namesake, the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji himself. H. P. Shastri,¹ however, states that Vanamālī, the author of the वैयाकरणमतोन्मज्जनटीका, was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita himself

In my paper on the date of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita published in the *Journal of the Tirupati Oriental Institute* (Vol, I, Part 2, pages 117-127) I have fixed up Bhaṭṭoji's literary career between about A. D 1560 and 1620. Subsequently I have published two papers, one on the Chronology of the Works of Varadarāja (*P. V. Kane Volume*, 1941, pages 188-199) and the other on the Chronology of the works of Nilakantha Śūkla (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol V, 1942, pages 177-183). Both these authors were pupils of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita like Vanamālī Mīśra and composed works say between A. D. 1610 and 1660. We have reason to suppose that Vanamālī Mīśra, their contemporary and co student studying at the feet of their common teacher Bhaṭṭoji, must have composed his works between about A. D 1610 and 1660 This is a reasonable conclusion but it needs to be backed up by the evidence of contemporary MSS of the works of Vanamālī Mīśra. Such evidence was not so far available to me Fortunately in Fascicule II of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Anup Sanskrit Library* at Bikaner by Dr C. K. Raja and Mr. K. M. K. Sarma (1946) I have found such evidence It is as follows

- (1) *Page 134*—MS No 5 -- कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by कुरुक्षेत्रनिवासि वनमालिमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of महोजि दीक्षित, dated *Samvat 1741* (= A. D 1684)

This guru is no other than Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita because Kaunda Bhaṭṭa in his वैयाकरणभूषणसार (Benares Edition) says —

“ महोजिदीक्षितै श्रेष्ठैर्निर्मिताः कारिका शुभा ।

कौण्डभट्टेन व्याख्याता कारिकास्ता सुविस्तरम् ॥ ”

These Kārikās number 71 of which 35 have been explained by Vanamālī in this MS.

- (2) *Page 145*—MS No 25 — कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by the above author dated *Samvat 1709* (= A. D 152) copied by दत्तमिश्र

¹ Vide p 13 of *Des Cata of Vyālarāja MSS* (R. A. S. B) Calcutta, Vol. VI, 1931—Bhaṭṭoji wrote 71 Kārikās after the completion of his शब्दकौस्तुभ The MS No 4229 contains the first 35 Kārikās with commentary of Vanamālī who speaks of Bhaṭṭoji as his guru —

“ जगत पितरौ नस्वा पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ।

गुरुनिर्ये कृता श्लोकाष्टीका तेषा वित्तन्यते ॥ ”

It is clear from the above dated MSS of the कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप that this work was composed by Vanamāli Mīśra prior to A. D. 1652. Most probably this MS was written during the lifetime of Vanamāli. I cannot say if he was living up to A. D. 1684, when the other MS of this work was copied.

(3) Page 137—MS No 61—सर्वतीर्थप्रकाश by the above Vanamāli Mīśra (this MS bears no date)

(4) Page 161—MS No. 19—दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट copied by वनमालिमिश्र in Samvat 1678 (= A. D. 1621).

The Catalogue does not say if the copyist वनमालिमिश्र of the above MS of A. D. 1621 was pupil of Bhaṭṭojī. Most probably this वनमालिमिश्र is identical with his namesake, the author of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप, सर्वतीर्थप्रकाश, सध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका, and perhaps of वैय्याकरणमतोन्मज्जना and सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक. If this identity is proved to be correct we can definitely say that this MS of A. D. 1621 is a specimen of the handwriting of one of the pupils of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita

As regards Aufrecht's statement that "कुण्डदत्तमिश्र" was another name of "वनमालिमिश्र" I have to say that it needs to be verified. In this connection I have to observe that the Bikaner MS of his कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप dated A. D. 1652 was copied by one "दत्तमिश्र" as stated in the Catalogue. It is possible to suppose that "दत्तमिश्र" in an abbreviated form of "कुण्डदत्तमिश्र" but I cannot say if कुण्डदत्तमिश्र and वनमालिमिश्र are identical. Possibly दत्तमिश्र, who copied in A. D. 1653 the MS of the कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप of वनमालिमिश्र, was a different person, though he might have been a member of the family of वनमालिमिश्र

A Madhva writer of the name वनमालिमिश्र of the भारद्वाजगोत्र and hailing from the neighbourhood of Vr̥ndāvana composed मारुतमण्डन¹ and other works between c. A. D. 1575 and 1650. On folio 57 of MS No 713 of 1382-83 of मारुतमण्डन in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute he quotes from मनोरमा as follows —

“उक्तं हि मनोरमाया अथक इत्यत्राश्वशब्दः अश्वे वर्तते, कन्प्रत्ययस्तु प्रतिकृतिरूपे सहशे इत्येके । अन्ये तु गौर्वाहीक इतिवत् अश्वशब्दः” etc.

The “मनोरमा” mentioned in the above quotation may be the प्रौढमनोरमा of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita (A. D. 1560-1620). The identity of वनमालिमिश्र,

¹ See my paper on this work in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, (1945).

the author of the *मारुतमण्डन*, with his namesake, the author of the *कुरुक्षेत्र-प्रदीप* (MS of A. D. 1652), needs to be examined on documentary evidence. I have only recorded here the foregoing points to enable other scholars to study this point further. Chronologically there would be no difficulty in identifying these two authors of the same name *वनमालिमिश्र*

3 Some Authors of The Ārde Family*

And Their Chronology — Between A. D. 1600 and 1825

HALL¹ in his *Bibliography* refers to Mss of the works of a writer on logic by name "Kṛṣṇabhaṭ Ṁrde" but indicates no chronology for them. Dr Satischandra Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic*² refers to this author as Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Āde and states that he died about 150 years ago. If the statement made by Vidyabhusana is correct we shall have to suppose that Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde (not Āde) died about A D 1771. This statement, however, seems to be wrong as will be seen from the evidence to be recorded in this paper, which shows that this author was living at Benares thirty years after the probable date of his death mentioned by Vidyabhusana, who unfortunately records no evidence for his surmise.

Aufrecht records about 74 works of this author. In CC II, 23 and CC III, 26 Aufrecht calls him son of Raṅganātha. In CC III, 114 he informs us that one रङ्गनाथ भारड, son of महादेव, wrote दशकुमारचरितपूर्वपीठिकासार (Stein 81). Hall in his edition of the *Vāṣavadattā* (Bib. Ind. 1859) states that a rumour had reached him regarding a commentary on the *Vāṣavadattā* by Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde but Aufrecht makes no mention of this com-

* *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XII, Part II, pp 63-69.

¹ *Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems* by Fitzedward Hall, Calcutta, 1859, pp, 31, 35, 37, 56, 59

p 31—गदाधरीनिवृत्ति and कृष्णभट्टी by Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde, son of Raṅganātha, and pupil of one Hari The Author was a Marabhaṭṭa Brahmin of Benares. He had an elder brother Nārāyaṇa. He wrote a commentary on the निर्णयसिन्धु.

p 35—जगदीशतोषिणी a commentary by Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde (=KA)

p 37—सिद्धान्तलक्षणकोड by KA.

p 56—शक्तिवादविवरण by KA, son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, son of Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭa.

p 59—आस्यातवाद टिप्पणी by KA.

² Vide p. 486 of Calcutta Edition, 1921 "Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Āde was a Marabhaṭṭa, who wrote a gloss on Gadādhara called Gadādhara Kārikā and one on Śiromani's Tattva-Cintāmaṇi while residing at Benares where he died about 150 years ago. The gloss has been printed in Telugu characters." Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa begins his Kārikā thus —

“ श्रीकृष्ण मुहुरानम्य कृष्णो नारायणानुज. ।

गदाधरमतार्थानां टिप्पणीं तनुतेऽदमुताम् ॥

राट्गनाधी कृष्णशर्मा पण्डितेभ्य कृताञ्जलि ।

याचते भूय आनम्य दूष्य सुद्धा वचो मम ॥ ”

mentary Hall further informs us in foot-note 1 on p 47 of his *Preface* to *Vāsavadattā* as follows — Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa was “ a Maratha of Benares, son of Rāṅganātha and pupil of one Hari. Among his works are huge commentaries on the निर्णयसिन्धु, गदाधरी and जगदीशी The second is called काशिका or गदाधरीविवृति, and the third मञ्जूषा or जगदीशतोषिणी The गदाधरी is by गदाधरभट्टाचार्य The जगदीशी by जगदीशतर्कालंकारभट्टाचार्य They annotated respectively the whole and a part of the दीधिति of रघुनाथशिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य which consists of notes on the first two Sections of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya's तत्त्वचिन्तामणि, a celebrated treatise of Nyāya philosophy ”

M M Professor P. V Kane makes the following remarks regarding the above author but indicates no chronology for his works —

“ Comm (on निर्णयसिन्धु A D 1612) रत्नमाला or दीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे ” 1

“ कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे (or भारड), son of रघुनाथ of Benares, Author of रत्नमाला alias दीपिका on निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट ” 2

The foregoing remarks of several scholars like Hall, Aufrecht, Kane, reveal that Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa Ārde was not only a great logician but also a learned commentator on works pertaining to *dharmaśāstra* and *Kāvya* Though I have not before me any Mss of the several works of this author I shall record in this paper some contemporary evidence which conclusively proves the chronology of this author.

The India Office Library Catalogue 3 contains a description of 11 fragments of the *Kāśikā* of Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa Ārde This description is concluded with the remarks — “ Date of this part (11th) सवत् १८५७ मिति चहतवदी १२ चारसनीचर All parts were written about the same time ” These remarks show that the above fragments were copied in Samvat 1857 = A D 1801. Elsewhere 4 in this Catalogue Mss of अनुमानमञ्जूषा on the जगदीशी by this author are described but this description contains no dates of the Mss

1 *Vide* p 574 of *Hist of Dharmaśāstra* Vol I, 1930 (B O R I)

2 *Ibid*, p 687 — *Vide* Aufrecht, CC I, 298- निर्णयसिन्धु comm by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे “ Hall, p 31, K 182, B. 3 100, Burnell, 1306, Lahore, 10, Oppert II, 6045 (Kṛṣṇa Śarmā) ”

3 Part IV (Philosophy and Tantra Mss) by Windisch and Eggeling, 1894, pp 618-619

4 *Ibid*, p 625-627—Mas Nos 1921, 1923 —Vol I, has the following couplets after the Colophon—

“ अक्षपादमतायांना काशिका मुक्तिकाशिका ।

यथा त्यक्तशरीराणा काशिका मुक्तिकाशिका ॥ १ ॥

हरि पिता हरिर्माता हरिर्भ्राता हरि सुहृत् ।

हरिरेव जगत्सर्वं हरेरन्यन्नभाति मे ॥ २ ॥”

Colophon of Vol. II reads—

“ इत्यारडोपाह्वकृष्णभट्टविरचिता चतुर्दशलक्षणीमञ्जूषा ॥ ”

I was under the impression that Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde was a Deśastha Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin. My friend Mr. Raghunātha Shastri Patankar of Rajapur informed me, however, that there is a family of Karhādā Brahmins¹ of the name "Ārde" now residing in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District and that he is in touch with the present members of this family. I have requested him to send me a genealogy of this family to enable me to see if our Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde, the logician, belonged to this family originally and then migrated to Benares for his education.

The following evidence shows that Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde was living at Benares about A. D. 1801-02, the date of the India Office Ms of his work referred to above.

In a Marathi Magazine² containing materials for the history of the Kāyastha Prabhus the history of a caste dispute during the time of Peshwa Bajirao II is recorded. In this account of the dispute³ a letter from Benares Pandits is reproduced. It is addressed to the Poona Brahmins, and is signed by about 81 Brahmins of Benares grouped as follows.—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 40—Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins — | संमतोयमर्थ. (महाराष्ट्रा) |
| 4—Vājasaneyi Brahmins— | " — (वाजसनेयिनां) |
| 21—Chittapāvan Brahmins— | " — (चित्तपावनानां) |
| 9—Karhādā Brahmins— | " — (करहाटकानां) |
| 7—Karnāṭaka Brahmins— | " — (करनाटकानां) |

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The first name in the Karhātaka group we find is the name "कृष्णभट्टजी अर्दे," while the sixth name is "वाळसुकुद जर्दे." The letter is dated Śaka 1723 or Samvat 1858⁴ = A. D. 1801. I feel no doubt that 'कृष्णभट्टजी

1 In the Gotrāvali of Karhādā Brahmins with me I find the surname "Ārde" with *gotras* (1) काश्यप and (2) भारद्वाज. It is necessary to examine the works of Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde and find out if he has recorded his own gotra incidentally.

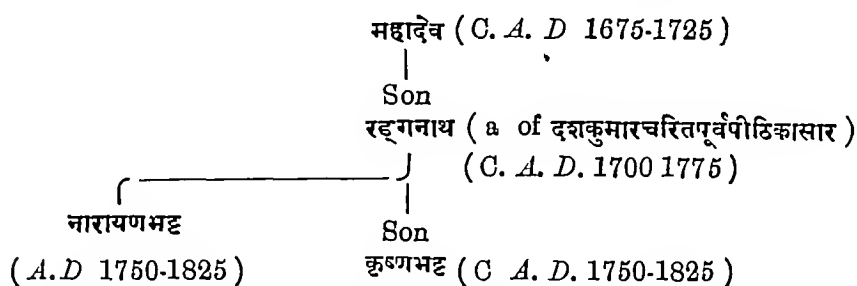
2 "सायस्थ प्रभूच्या इतिहासाची साधने," Vol. I, No. 11 (Nirnaya-agar Press, Bombay—"ग्रामण्याची हकाकत"—प्रकरण दुसरे), pp. 27-31.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32. The letter begins—"स्वति श्रीमद्दत्तारण्यातर्गतभीमरथीनाभिद्वयसगत्योपलक्षितपुण्याख्यग्रामस्थ दक्षिणाल्पराजपिथर्माधिकारी प्रात पुणे व वाठारे व समस्त ब्राह्मणान्प्रति-आयायवर्तेरुदेश जानदवनरिद्धरुद्विराजिनाविमुक्त क्षेत्रस्य भट्टधर्माधिकारिणेपप्रभृतीमनेका नतयो विलसतु चैत्रशुक्लपंचम्यवाधि अत्रत्यक्षेममस्ति भावतः तदनुदिनमेधमानमाशात्महे. विशेषस्तु भाषया—आपण माघकृष्ण दशमीचीं पत्रे पाठविलीं ती पावली, etc."

4 The letter ends—"कलात्रे सुज्ञान्प्रत्यल पल्लवितेनेत्यनेका नतयो विलसंतु. शके १७२३ दुर्मातिनामसवत्सरे संवत् १८५८"

आर्दे" of this letter of *A. D. 1801* is no other than "Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde," the writer of several works on logic and other subjects mentioned by me in this paper. If this identification is accepted we have evidence to believe that this author flourished between say *A. D. 1750* and *1825* or so. As the India Office Library Ms of अनुमानमञ्जूषा is dated *A. D. 1801* we have to suppose that Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa was a full-fledged logician by *A. D. 1800* and that many of his works on logic may have been completed before the year Presuming now that he was about 50 years old in *A. D. 1801* when he consented to a letter of decision in a caste-dispute we may reasonably allow for him a life-period between *A. D. 1750* and *1825* (about 75 years).

The Ms of दशकुमारचरितपूर्वपीठिकासार mentioned by Stein¹ as the work of "रङ्गनाथ आरड" son of महादेव consists of 19 folios (complete). The रङ्गनाथ seems to be the same as the father of कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे, the logician who was also called रङ्गनाथ as we have already seen. The genealogy of the logician will now be as follows —



नारायणभट्ट mentioned by कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे as his brother seems to be different from his namesake, the son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट². This नारायण लक्ष्मीधर आरड composed a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the गृह्याग्निसागर of which Aufrecht (CC II, 32) records the following Mss —

"गृह्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसार by नारायणभट्ट Bhāu Dāji 102, IO 48 1815 Rgb. 292, Stein 87"

"गृह्याग्निसागर alias प्रयोगसार by नारायणभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट surnamed आरड (आरडे), quotes रामाण्डारव्याख्या on धूर्तस्वामी's भाष्य on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोगरत्न, निर्णयसिन्धु, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, परशुरामप्रताप and रामवाजपेयी and his own श्राद्धसागर Later than 1650 A. D."

Ms "Rgb. 292" in the above entry of Aufrecht is identical with Ms No. 292 of 1884-87 in the Govt Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. There is another Ms of the work in the above library, viz, No 63

1 *Cata of Jammu Mss* by Peterson (1894), p. 81.

2 *Vide His of Dharma* I by P. V. Kane, p. 540.

of 1895-1902 which is dated Śaka 1693 = A. D. 1771. Ms No. 292 of 1884-87 is dated Śaka 1649 = A. D. 1727. It is thus clear that नारायण लक्ष्मीधर आरडे, the author of the गृह्याग्निसागर, flourished earlier than A. D. 1727 and later than A. D. 1612, the date of निर्णयसिन्धु, which is quoted on folio 122a of Ms No. 292 of 1884-87¹ as follows.—

“ निर्णयसिंधौ पाराशरमाधवीये कात्यायन ”

On the strength of the above evidence we can assign this author to the period A. D. 1650-1725 and consequently he is entirely different from नारायण रङ्गनाथ आरडे, the brother of कृष्णभट्ट आरडे (A. D. 1750 to 1825). The Ms of this work in the India Office Library is a late copy dated Śaka 1741 (= A. D. 1819) Professor H. D. Velankar has described two Mss of this work in his catalogue of the B B R. A Society's Mss,² but these Mss bear no dates. The work is a compilation treating of rites regarding the maintenance of the sacred fire, and rules of expiation in cases of irregularities. The author notes some Marathi equivalents³ for Sanskrit words on folio 8 (Ms No. 292 of 1884-87) It is now clear that the author of the गृह्याग्निसागर belongs to a branch of the Ārde family which I cannot

1 This Ms begins—

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
नत्वा कृष्णपदांभोज गणेश शकर शिवं ॥
लक्ष्मीधर च पितर भट्टनारायणं तथा ॥
यथाज्ञान विचार्याथ पक्षशिष्टैरनुष्ठित ॥
त्रीणि सूत्राणि तद्ग्रंथानालोक्यान्याश्च भूरिश ॥
आरडेव्युपनामा वै भट्टनारायण सुधी ॥
गृह्याग्निसागरं चैव कुरुते शिष्टतुष्टये ॥ ”

The Ms ends on folio 124—

“ इति श्रीमदारडोपनामक लक्ष्मीधरसुनुनारायणभट्टकृतगृह्याग्निसागर समाप्त । शके १६४९
सुवर्गमन्तरसरे वैशाखवदि त्रितीयाया सोम्यवासरे लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं श्रीभीमारमणविठ्ठलार्पण-
मस्तु ॥ ६ ॥ ”

आरडेव्युपनाम्ना वै भट्टनारायणेन च ॥
त्रीणी सूत्राणि तद्ग्रंथानालोक्यान्याश्च भूरिश ॥
सर्वलोकोपकाराय कृतो गृह्याग्निसागरः ॥ ६ ॥ ”

This is followed by the following endorsement in red ink—

“ ॥ गोविंदभट्ट पुराणीक मालवणकर याचे पुस्तक अ हे सत्य ॥ ”

2 Vide pp. 214-215 of Velankar's Catalogue (Vol. II, 1928) Mss Nos. 672 and 680.

3 These are द्वालायन = वाटाणे, तित्तिणि = चिंचा; लवली = नराची

link up with the branch represented by कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे. The two branches may be represented chronologically as follows —

लक्ष्मीधर (A D. 1600—1660)	
Son	
नारायणभट्ट (A D. 1650—1725)	
	... .....महादेव (A.D. 1675—1725)
	Son
	रङ्गनाथ (A D. 1700—1775)
	| × (कमला) ¹
	Sons
	([)
	नारायण (A.D. 1750-1825) कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे
	(A.D. 1801) बालमुकुन्द आर्दे

The Ms of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Ninanyasindhu* described by Burnell² was copied at Benares in A. D. 1829.

In one of the Sanskrit addresses³ presented to Warren Hastings in A. D. 1796 by Benares Pandits, I find the following signatories —

“ (42) *Krishna Bhattha* ”

“ (44) *Bala Mookoonda* ”

1 *Vide* p. 121 of *Hultzsch Report II* (Madras, 1896) Ms No. 1240—Comm on Gadādhara's दोषसामान्यलक्षण by कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे Begins—

“ आरढीयाह्वकृष्णेन रचिता टिप्पणी परा ।

गदाधरीयगृहिष्ठानानदयतु नित्यश ॥

गदाधरमतार्थेषु दोषसामान्यलक्षणे ।

नञ् पंचचुरितार्थानां कृत्स्नानामेवकारिका ॥

चैकुष्ठमध्यावसतो कमलारगनाथयो ।

देहज कृतवानेना कृष्णो नारायणानुज ॥ ”

2 *Vide* p. 130 of *Burnell's Catalogue of Tanjore Mss*, 1879

“ निर्णयसिन्धुदीपिका by कृष्णशर्मान् (कृष्णभट्ट) younger brother of नारायण. The author was a Mahārāṭhā of Benares (See Hall's *Vāsavadattā* pref , p. 47, note) Begins—

“ लक्ष्मीनारायण नत्वा पितरौ च गुरुनपि ।

कृष्णशर्मावित्तनुते सारार्था सिन्धुदीपिकाम् ॥ etc. ”

Written at Benares, Samvat 1885

(*Vide* p. 5579 of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore Mss*, Vol. XVII, 1934)—Ms No. 18206

3 *Vide Journal of Tanjore S M Library*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 10—14 (My paper on “ Testimonials of Good Conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits— A D. 1796 ”) See signatories to the second address to Warren Hastings

On this address there are signatures of more than 67 Mahārāṣṭra Brahmīns, etc., among which the above names occur. I am inclined to think that these persons are identical with कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे and बाळमुकुद आर्दे of the 1801 A. D. letter from the Benares Pandits to Poona Pandits already referred to by me in this paper. Though the above signatures are not followed by the surnames of the writers in the 1796 address the circumstantial evidence is strong enough to support my identification of these writers with their namesakes in the 1801 letter. In fact I find that many signatories are common to both the documents as will be seen from the following comparison.—

Letter from Benares -- A. D. 1801	Sanskrit Addresses to Warren Hastings— A. D. 1796, from Benares Pandits
रामचंद्रभट्ट तारे	Rama-Chandra Sarmā surnamed Tarā
हिरापडित शेष	Hira names surnamed Sesha
हरिरामपडित शेष	Sesha Haree Rama Panta
मुकुद देव	Mookoonda Deva
वचभट्ट मौनी	Bacham Bhattha Sarma surnamed Mounie
जयराम जोशी	Astrologer Jaya Rama
चिंतामणभट्ट कार्लेकर	Cheenta Manee surnamed Kaarlakar
बाळदीक्षित अयाचित	Bala Krishna Deekshita surnamed Ayacicheta
कृष्णभट्टजी भर्दे	Krishna Bhattha
बाळमुकुद भर्दे	Bala Mookoonda
कृष्णदीक्षित लेले	Krishna Lalla
चिंतामणदीक्षित कानडे	Cheentamanees Deeksheeta surnamed Karnataka

It appears clear to me that Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde, the logician, was a signatory to the Sanskrit address to Warren Hastings, an English translation of which by Mr. Wilkins is found on pp 755-768 of the *Debates of House of Lords*, London, 1797. Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa did not, therefore, die about A. D. 1771, as suggested by Dr. S. Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic*.

Our Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde was a junior contemporary of the celebrated author Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyagunde, the author of the *Bālambhaṭṭi*, who is assigned by M. M. Professor P. V. Kane¹ to the period A. D. 1730-1820 and to whom Colebrooke had entrusted the compilation of a work called *Dharmaśāstra Saṅgraha* about A. D. 1801. On the Benares letter of A. D. 1801 to which Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde is a signatory we find the signature of

¹ Vide p 162 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I (1920).

“ बालभट्टजी पायगुडे ” who is no other than his namesake in the employ of Colebrooke in May 1801 ¹

It is difficult to fix the chronology of the several works of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe. I have already observed that the India Office Library Ms of the *Kāśīkā* of this author is dated A. D. 1801. He must have written his works on *nyāya* prior to A. D. 1800 or so. In his commentary on Gadādhara's दोषसामान्यलक्षण our author refers to his parents कमला and रङ्गनाथ as residing in heaven (वैकुण्ठमध्यावसतो कमलारङ्गनाथयो) This statement shows that Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa composed the commentary in question when his parents were no longer living. Possibly his parents died before A. D. 1800.

P. S.—I have assigned नारायण लक्ष्मीधर आरडे to the period A. D. 1650-1725. This conclusion is corroborated by the following additional evidence—

- (1) A *nirṇayapatra* A. D. 1657 contains the following endorsement—“ संमत नारायणभट्ट आरडे इत्युपनाम्न ” (Vide pp 78-81 of चितलेभट्ट प्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar, Bombay, 1926).
- (2) H. P. Shastri [*Notices*, III, 1907, Calcutta] describes a Ms of लक्ष-होमकारिका by नारायणभट्ट आरडे, which is dated *Samvat* 1783 = A. D. 1727. We have already pointed out that the B. O. R. I. Ms of गृह्याग्नितागार of नारायणभट्ट आरडे is dated *Śake* 1649 = A. D. 1727

¹ P. V Kane *History of Dharma* I, p. 461—Kane mentions the following dated Mss of Bālabhaṭṭa's works—

(1) बालभट्टी Ms in Benares Palace Library—A. D. 1774-75.

(2) उपाकृतितत्व Ms described by Stein in his *Catalogue of Jammu Mss*—A. D. 1701-02

I may add the following Mss to the above list—

(3) मिताक्षराव्याख्या (व्यवहारप्रकरण) 407 folios—*Samvat* 1850 = A. D. 1794 (Vide p. 147 of Poleman's *List of Indic Mss in U S A*, etc., 1938)

4. A Contemporary Manuscript of Bhānuji Dīkṣita's

Vyākhyāsudhā *

Dated A. D. 1649

And Identification of his Patron Kīrtisimha of the Baghela Dynasty

(Between A. D. 1620 and 1660)

AUFRECHT ¹ records several MSS of the commentary of Bhānuji Dīkṣita on the "Amarakośa," called "Vyākhyāsudhā." Some of these are already described in the descriptive Catalogues of MSS so far published. Judging by this description we find in the first instance few MSS with any dates recorded in them. The India Office Library contains two MSS ² bearing dates A. D. 1800 and 1806 while the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains three MSS, ³ one of which is dated A. D. 1793 while the remaining two are dated about A. D. 1700 and 1800 respectively. ⁴

In view of the absence of dated MSS of the "Vyākhyāsudhā" belonging to the 17th century, to the earlier half of which its author is generally assigned, I was interested to find that the MS of this commentary noted by Aufrecht, viz., "Bhr 200" was a contemporary copy of the work. This MS is identical with MS No 200 of 1882 83 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It contains the commentary for the 2nd Kāṇḍa of the "Amarakośa" and is well preserved in spite of its age. It ends as follows —

Folio 218b — " इत्यमरसिंहकृतौ नामलिङ्गानुशासने ॥

द्वितीयोऽयं भूकाण्डः साग एव समर्थितः ॥

॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

इति श्रीवघेलवंशोद्भवश्रीमहीधरविषयाधिपश्रीमहाराजकुमारश्रीकीर्तिसिंहदेवाज्ञया
श्रीभट्टोजीदीक्षितात्मजश्रीभानुजीदीक्षितविरचितायाममरटीकायां व्याख्यासुधाख्याया द्वितीय-
काण्डः सपूर्णवामगात् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

* Journal of the University of Bombay. Vol. XI, Part II, pp 90-99

¹ CC I, 26; II, 5, III, 6

² Vide p. 274 of I O. MSS Cata. Part II, 1883-MSS No. 965, dated Śaka 1722 = A. D. 1800, MSS No. 966, dated samvat 1862 = A. D. 1806.

³ Vide pp 118-119 of Vol II of the Catalogue by Winternitz and Keith, 1905.

MS No 1102—Probably about A. D. 1700.

MS No. 1103—Samvat 1849 = A. D. 1793

MS No. 1104—About 1800

⁴ Vide p 163 of Cata. of British Museum MSS by Bendall, 1902—MS 630 is dated A.D. 1806.

संवत् शराभाचलचंद्रमाने गणेशचंद्रेश्वरसूत्रस्य कृष्णे ।

गोपालजीकोऽमरसिंहकांडं व्याख्यासुधायां व्यलिखद्द्वितीय ॥ १ ॥”

The chronogram containing the date of the copy is represented by the words शर, अत्र, अचल, चन्द्र — Samvat 1705 or A. D. 1649. If this date is correct we must look upon the MS bearing this date as a contemporary copy of the “Vyākhyāsudhā” of Bhānuji. Though this MS contains commentary for only the 2nd Kānda of the “Amarakośa” its value for a critical edition of the “Vyākhyāsudhā” for this Kānda at least should be very great as compared with the late MSS of the commentary. The colophon of this contemporary MS is also very important as it confirms similar colophons in the MSS of this commentary of later date. It is clear from this colophon that the “Vyākhyāsudhā” was composed by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita by order of Kīrtisimha-deva, who was a prince of the Baghela dynasty, ruling over the Mahīdhara territory.¹ As the MS is dated A. D. 1649, Bhānuji must have composed this commentary many years earlier than this date.

I shall now try to identify the patron of Bhānuji Dīkṣita, who belonged to the Baghela dynasty and whose name was Kīrtisimha. The colophon of A. D. 1649 quoted above gives the following particulars about Bhānuji's patron —

- (1) He was of the Baghela dynasty (वघेलवंशोद्भव)
- (2) He was ruler of Mahīdhara territory (महीधरविषयाधिप)
- (3) He was a prince (श्रीमहाराजकुमार) of the name कीर्तिसिंह.

I am of opinion that Kīrtisimha, the Baghela patron of Bhānuji, is identical with Fateh Singh,² the founder of the Sohawal State in Baghel-

1 Both “कीर्तिसिंहदेव” and “महीधरविषय” need to be identified. I have tried to identify “कीर्तिसिंह” in this paper. “महीधरविषय” is possibly identical with *Manhar* State now under the Baghel Khanda Political Agency as suggested by my friend Dr. R. N. Dandekar. *Manhar* was originally a dependency of Rewa but later it went into the possession of the Bundela Raja of Panna (vide p. 189 of Vol. IX of *Imp. Gazet*, London, 1886).

2 Vide p. 47 of *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, London, 1887 — *Sohawal* — The State of Sohawal was formerly a portion of Rewa territory but about the middle of the 16th Century, when *Amarsingh* was ruler of Rewa, his son *Fate Singh* threw off his father's authority and established his independence as Chief of Sohawal. His descendant *Lal Amarsingh* was found in possession on the British occupation of Baghel Khanda and was consequently confirmed in his State on his tendering a deed of allegiance. In consequence of the improvidence and misrule of its Chiefs the State has more than once come under British management. It was last made over in 1871 free of debt to the present Raja of Sohawal, *Lal Singh Jang Bahadur Singh*, who is by race a Baghel Rajput. A small police force is maintained of about 50 men.

khanda in Central India My reasons for the above identification are as follows —

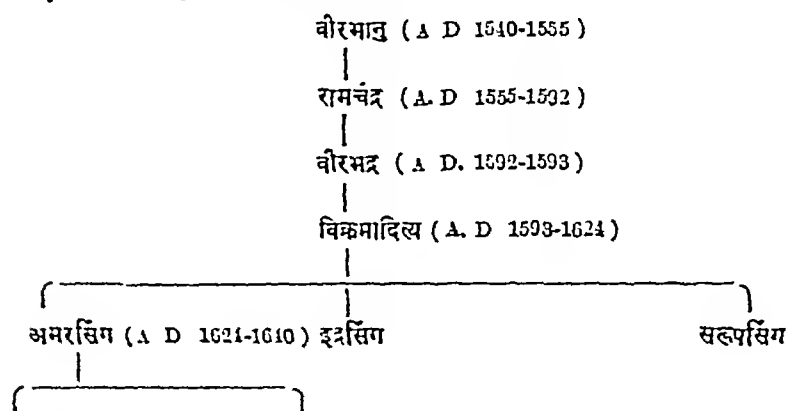
(1) The name “Kirtisimha” mentioned by Bhānuji Dikṣita is only a paraphrase of the name “Fatesingh.”

(2) Bhānuji Dikṣita¹ may be assigned to a period A. D. 1600 to 1660. His patron Fatesingh was living at this time²

(3) It appears that Kirtisimha or Fatesingh had already founded the Sohawal Kingdom when Bhānuji wrote his commentary as Bhānuji calls his patron “the ruler of Mahidhara territory” (महीधरविषयाधिप). It is quite probable that “महीधर” is equivalent to “Maihar” and “महीधरविषय” means the “Maihar State” which was the dependency of Rewa and is now under the Baghelakhanda Political Agency as stated in the *Gazetteer*³ As the town of Maihar is about 40 miles from Rewa, Fatesing may have made it his headquarters, when he threw off his father's authority. His brother Anūpasing was a minor when he came to the gādī of Rewa and ruled between A. D. 1640 and 1660. In view of this chronology for his brother's rule at Rewa we may safely assign him to the period A. D. 1620 to 1660 or so and make him a junior of Bhānuji

1 Videmypaper on the date of Bhattoji Dikṣita in the *Annals* (Tirupati Institute) Vol. I, pp. 117-127. As Bhattoji's career ended about A. D. 1620 we may assign his son Bhānuji to the period A. D. 1600 to 1660.

2 The genealogy and chronology of the Baghela dynasty corresponding to the dates of Bhattoji and Bhānuji may be given here —



अनूपसिंग (A. D. 1640-1660) फतेसिंग (founder of Sohawal State)

3 Vide p. 159 of Vol IX of *Imp. Gazet.*, 1936.—Maihar is a station on the Jabalpur extension of the East Indian Railway, 97 miles from Jabalpur and 40 miles from Rewa. The town contains a fort built in the 16th century, where the Raja now resides.

Dīkṣita, who calls him राजकुमार, whose father Amarsing ruled from A. D. 1624 to 1640.¹

If it is possible to determine when Fatesing or Kirtisimha became the ruler of the Mahādhara territory we can easily fix the earlier limit to the date of Bhānujī's Vyākhyāsudhā, the later limit being of course A. D. 1649, the date of the MS of the 2nd Kānda of this commentary already described in this paper. As Anūpasing, the brother of Fatesing, ruled between A. D. 1640 and 1660 and as he was a minor when he came to the gādī of Rewa in A. D. 1640, we may not be wrong in assigning Fatesing to the period A. D. 1620 to 1660 as we have remarked above. It is also possible to suppose that he threw off the authority of his father some years before A. D. 1640, when obviously he lost his father and the question of succession arose. If these statements, which I have based on the notes sent to me by the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, are correct we may safely suggest that Bhānujī composed his "Vyākhyāsudhā" between A. D. 1620 and A. D. 1640. In making this suggestion I have presumed that Fatesing, the patron of Bhānujī, was born about A. D. 1620 and that he was about 20 years old when his father died in A. D. 1640 and was succeeded by the minor brother Anūpasing.

In the foregoing discussion I have made use of the scanty information in my possession regarding Fatesing Baghel whom I regard as the patron of Bhānujī Dīkṣita. How Bhānujī came into contact with this prince I cannot say at present.

Tavernier visited Benares in A. D. 1666. He refers in his *Travels*² to a college at Benares founded by Raja Jaising (A. D. 1621-1667) for the education of the youth of good families. Is it possible to suppose that Fatesing or Kirtisimha may have had some contact with this college where some of the contemporary Rajput princes got their education at the hands of Brahmin pandits of Benares? As it seems, however, that Fatesing Baghel was a contemporary of Mirza Raja Jaising, he may not have received his education at the above college where the sons of Jaising got their education. We have, therefore, to presume that the contact of Bhānujī with Fatesing was independent of the above college like that of

1 The chronology of the Baghela rulers given in this paper is based on the notes supplied to me by my friend the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, M. A., LL. B., the Adviser to H. H. the Maharaja of Rewa. He was in constant correspondence with me on many matters of historical interest and I put on record my deep appreciation of his critical insight and indefatigable industry in investigating the history of the Rewa State. Unfortunately he died in 1938.

2 *Vide* pp. 234-235 of Vol. II of these *Travels* (1863). *Vide* also my paper on Viivānātha M. Rānade (p. 50 of Vol. 17, 1941, of B. B. R. A. S. Journal).

Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī with the Mughal Court and the Rajput princes who thronged at this court in the 17th century. ¹

I have identified महीधरविषय with the Maihar State and Kirtisimha Baghel with Fatesing Baghel, whom the *Gazetteer* calls the founder of the Sohawal State. As both the Maihar and Sohawal States are near ² each other in the Baghel Khanda agency it is possible to suppose that महीधरविषय comprised area belonging to both these states, when Fatesing became the ruler of this area and perhaps made महीधर or Maihar as his headquarters. I await more light on this question from close students of the history of Baghel Khanda, who may be able to settle the exact limits of the महीधरविषय over which Fatesing ruled after throwing off his father's authority some time before A. D. 1640. At present I have no detailed knowledge of the history of the Maihar or Sohawal States subsequent to the rule of Fatesing or even before it and hence cannot say anything in this matter with certainty.

Curious views ³ have been current regarding the caste of Brahmins to which Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita belonged. Some say he was a Deśastha Brahmin, while others say that he was a Sārasvata Brahmin. According to the generally accepted view he was a Telaṅga Brahmin. In view of these opinions I was surprised to find in the colophon ⁴ of a MS of the Vyākhyāsudhā the statement that it was composed by Rāmāśrama, (1) the pupil of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita and (2) of Gurjara caste. This statement adds one more caste to the list of castes, to which Bhaṭṭojī's family is supposed to have belonged. I shall deal in a separate paper with the validity of the tradition that Rāmāśrama was the name of Bhānujī Dikṣita after he became a sanyāsīn. The colophon of the Tanjore MS which refers to the Gurjara

¹ Vide my paper on "Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court" (pp. 1--16 of *Annals of Tirupati S. V. Ori. Institute*, Vol. I, Part IV). The poet Jayarāma in his राधासाधविलासचू (Poona, 1922), composed about A. D. 1658, refers to a "बघेलनृपते कवीधर" at the court of King Shahaji, father of Shivaji the Great.

² The latitude and longitude of Sohawal and Mauar as recorded in the *Imp Gazetteer* are as follows —

(1) Mauar — Lat. 24°16' N, Long. 80°48' E.

(2) Sohawal — Lat. 24°31'35" N, Long. 80°48'50" E.

³ Vide Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita Jñātinivēka by Rao Bahadur W. A. Bhandarkar Bombay, 1930.

⁴ Vide p. 3521 of Vol. IX of *Des Cata. of Tanjore MSS* (1930) — MS No. 1943 —

"इति श्री बघेलवशोद्धव — महीधरविषयाधिपश्रीकीर्तिर्निहृदेवाज्ञया श्रीमद्योजिदीक्षितशिष्य-
गुरुरजातीयराभाश्रमविरचितायाममरदीक्षाया व्याख्यामुद्राख्याया प्रथमकाण्डसमाप्त "

"सरसंचत्तरवैशाखशुद्धतीया भाग्यवासरे लिखितमिदं पुस्तक "

caste of Rāmāśrama has not much historical value as it is contradicted by the colophon of A. D. 1649 which neither refers to Rāmāśrama nor to his Gurjara caste as will be clear from this colophon already quoted elsewhere in this paper.

Presuming that Bhānujī Dikṣita and Rāmāśrama¹ are identical we may infer that Vatsarāja, a pupil of Rāmāśrama, in the following verse of his “Vārānasīdarpanaṭikā” composed in Śaṃvat 1698 (A. D. 1641) refers to Bhānujī Dikṣita after he became a sanyāsin —

“ भट्टोजिदीक्षित नत्वा रामाश्रमगुरु पुन ।

वत्सराज करोत्येतां काशीदर्पणकाशिकाम् ॥”

Bhānujī Dikṣita may have become a sanyāsin before A. D. 1641. It is also possible to surmise that he composed the “Vyākhyāsudhā” before he became a sanyāsin.

I have already referred in this paper to the importance of the MS of A. D. 1649, viz., No. 200 of 1882-83 for purposes of textual criticism. This importance will be better understood by a test comparison of the text of the “Vyākhyāsudhā” as represented by the printed edition and that found in the MS of A. D. 1649. The inflated character of the text in the printed edition is apparent from the Appendix to this paper prepared by Mr. M. M. Patkar.

The authentic life-history of the scholars who flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries is difficult to reconstruct on the strength of contemporary evidence. I have tried in this paper to collect and discuss some useful data regarding Bhānujī Dikṣita and his patron, which I hope will attract the attention of senior scholars, from whom I expect to get some more information on the subject than what I have gathered in this short paper.

1 Vide p. 177 of *Des Cata. of Kāvya MSS*, Vol. VII, by H. P. Shastri (R. A. S., Bengal), Calcutta, 1984. The genealogy of वत्सराज as given by him on folio 10A of the MS of दर्पण-प्रकाशिका is as follows —

गणेश अग्निहोत्रि of surname त्रिपाठिन्

↓
राघव (त्रिपाठिन्)

↓
वत्सराज (A. D. 1641)

APPENDIX

(BY DR. M. M. PATKAR, B. A. PH. D.)

(This appendix gives a specimen of the variants in the text of the Vyākhyāsudhā of Bhānujī Dīkṣita as represented by the printed edition and the MS of A. D. 1649).

Printed Edition Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1929, 2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)			MS No 200 of 1882-83 dated Samvat 1705--A. D. 1649 2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
110	1	उक्ता	1b	1	उदिता
"	"	omitted कर्तरि च	"	"	कर्तरि च
"	"	पृथिव्यादिभिः	"	"	पुरादिभिः
"	"	शिलादीनि मनः शिलादी- नि । वृक्षादीनि पुष्पादीनि }	The Ms omits this portion		
110	2	क्षितौ	"	2	स्थितौ
"	"	इति वा	"	"	वा
"	"	अनवधौ	"	"	निरवधौ
"	"	गुह्यच्यो.	2a	"	गह्वच्योः
"	"	अच् वा घञर्थे को वा इति मुकुटः । तन्न । परिग- णनात् । अच् सत्वाच्च }	"	"	omitted अच् वा etc.
"	"	यद्वा ध्रियते । पृष्ट् अव- स्थाने पचाद्यच् }	"	"	omitted
"	"	तुलेऽय	"	"	मूलेऽय
"	"	भेदो	"	"	भेदे
"	"	निपातितः	"	"	निपातः
111	"	इति भेदिनो	"	"	इति विश्वः
"	"	यत्तु—क्षियन्त्यत्र—इति मुकुटः । तन्न अवज्रभ्याम् इति ल्युट्वा चाघात् । }	"	"	omitted
"	3	नु लोप.	2b	3	न लोपो
"	"	omitted	"	"	वो तो गुणेति गीषि पृथ्वं
"	"	इति सप्रत्यये सप्रसारणे 'वो तो गुण' इति ङीष्पृथ्वी }	"	"	omitted
"	"	इत्यच् ! यत्तु-पृषोदरा- दित्वात् अङ्गोप । बाहुल्य चन्मन् टिलोपश्च । इति मुकुटः । तन्न उक्तीत्या निर्वाहान् । }	"	"	omitted

Printed Edition

Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay 1949,
2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)

Ms No 200 of 1882-83

dated Samvat 1705—A.D. 1649
2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)

PAGE	VERSE	READING
111	3	यत्तु-मह्यन्ते भूतान्मस्याम्, } महाते, वा 'पुसि' इति घ । } गौरादिह्यिष इति मुकुटः । } तन्न । 'हलश्च' इति घञ् प्रस- } गात् । कर्मणि घस्याप्रसगाच्च । } 'करणाधिकरणयो' अनुवर्तनात् }
"	"	इति कश्चित् । तन्न 'कर- } ग्रहणाच्च' इत्युक्तत्वात् । }
111-12	5	यत्तु-स्थल्यतेत्र । 'घञर्थे क'- } इति मुकुटः । तन्न । परिगणनात् }
112	2	अथो
"	"	निपातितः
"	"	बुद्धिक्षयो
118	6	'एकं महाभूत पृथ्वी, पञ्चमहा- } भूतेन्द्रियविषयात्मक तु जगत्' } इति पृथ्वी जगतोर्भेदः }
118	8	पचाथच् । दिश्यते वा । घञ् ।
"	"	इति मुकुट । तन्न । घञो } ल्युडपवादत्वात् अतः—'अन्य- } त्रापि इति युञ् }
"	"	adds ग्रामसमुदाय लक्षणस्य before स्थानमात्रस्य
"	"	adds आगोष्ठात् before गोष्ठशब्दमभिव्याप्य
"	10	त्रिषु इत्यस्य वाधनार्थं पुंसि } इति । }
114	11	चत्वारि 'अश्मप्रायमृदाधिकस्य } वालुकायुक्तेशस्य, }

FOLIO VERSE READING

2b 3 omitted

" " omitted

" " omitted

3a 6 त्रिष्वधो

3b " निपात

After इतिह्यिष the Ms inserts
the following verse जगत्स्या-
द्विष्टे क्लोव etc which is found
in the printed edition after
'यङ् विधानाश्च'

" " बुद्धिक्षयो

" " omitted

" " omitted

" " omitted

" " omitted

" " omitted

Printed Edition			Ms No. 200 of 1882-83		
Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1929			dated Samvat 1705 = A. D 1649		
2nd Kūṇḍa (Bhāṇuvarga)			(2nd Kūṇḍa Bhāṇuvarga)		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
114	11	सिकताशर्करा	5a	11	The Ms trans. सिकता and शर्करा
		"	"	"	Adds अश्मप्रायमृदधिकस्य before चत्वारिवालुका बहुलदेशस्य
"	12	नयम्बुभिर्वृष्टयम्बुभिः संपन्नदेशस्य	"	"	omitted
"	13	सामान्यराजयुक्तदेशस्य	"	"	omitted
"	"	गावस्तिष्ठन्ति यत्र	"	"	omitted
"	"	गोष्ठं गोस्थानके, गोष्ठो सभा- संलापयो स्त्रियाम् }	"	13	Adds this after स्वार्थः
"	"	भूतपूर्वगोष्ठस्य	"	"	omitted
"	14	सरन्त्यत्र	"	14	सन्त्यत्र
"	"	अलल्यम्भ	"	"	अलल्यम्भः
"	"	Adds पिपीलिकादि निष्कासि- तनृत्पुञ्जस्य after त्रीणी	"	"	omitted
"	15	मुकुटः । तन्न । घनो ल्युडपवा- दत्वात् । आतो युच् कर्मणि वा }	"	"	omitted
"	"	वर्ततेऽत्र	5b	15	omitted
115	"	इति मुकुटः । तन्न 'अजब्भ्याम् । इति ल्युट् प्रसंगात् । करण- स्यापि कर्तृत्वविवक्षाया किच्- चौच' इति 'किच्' }	"	"	omitted
"	"	तर्कुपिण्डे	6a	"	तर्कुपिण्डे
"	"	omitted	"	"	स्वप्नाच्चेति
"	"	मार्गस्य	"	"	omitted
"	"	omitted	"	"	adds राजाह. सत्विभ्य- ष्ट् after तत्पुरुष- and omits ऋक्पूर्- इत्यः
"	16	मुकुटः । तन्न । इति स्त्रीवता- प्रसङ्गात् । अतः 'विरुद्ध. पथ.' इति विप्रशीतव्यम् }	"	"	omitted
"	"	अदेशः । कुमारगोष्ठीपन्मागो भवति । कुत्सित पथः । 'वाटः पथं मार्गं' इति }	"	"	omitted

<i>Printed Edition</i>			<i>Ms No 200 of 1882-83</i>		
<i>Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1929</i>			<i>dated Samvat 1705 = A. D. 1649</i>		
<i>2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)</i>			<i>2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)</i>		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
115	16	दूर्मार्गस्य	6a	15	omitted
"	17	कान्तारं	"	17	कान्तारो
"	"	चतुष्पथस्य	"	"	चत्वरस्य
"	"	दूरस्थच्छायाजलादिवर्जितमार्गस्य	"	"	omitted
"	"	एकम् ' चोराद्युपद्रवैर्दुर्गममार्गस्य '	"	"	omitted
116	18	क्रोशद्वयपरिमितस्य	6b	18	omitted
"	"	' चतु शतहस्तपरिमितस्य '	"	"	omitted
"	"	इति मुकुट. । तन्न । यस्यलुब्ध- पवादत्वात् । बाहुलकाद्वा ल्युट् । युच् तु युक्त. }	"	"	omitted
"	"	इति मुकुट । तन्न । अपो बाधकस्य ल्युटोऽपि 'पुंसि' इति घस्यापवादत्वात् }	"	"	omitted
"	"	एकं ' पुरमार्गस्य '	"	"	omitted

5. Kavikaustubha, an unknown Work On Poetics by Raghunātha Manohara And its Chronology — Between A. D 1675 And 1700 *

Aufrecht mentions no work of the title कविकौस्तुभ. Dr. S. K. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* also contains no mention of any work of this title. Recently I came across a Ms of this work through the favour of Vaidya Śivarāma Raghunātha Khāṇḍekar of Nasik. He was under the impression that this work was composed by his grand-father Rāghava Kavi¹ or Raghunātha Āpā Khāṇḍekar of Puṇyastambha or Puṇtāmbe in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency. On examination I find that the Ms of कविकौस्तुभ is not a work of Rāghava Kavi but that it belonged to him as I find from the endorsement towards the end of the Ms.²

As this work on rhetorics is unknown to Sanskritists I shall describe the present Ms and determine the chronology of its author *Raghunātha Manohara*. The Ms begins—

“ ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
अथ काव्यप्रवधानां शल्यरूपान्समासतः ।
दोषान्वक्ष्ये क्रमेणैव पूर्वाचार्यं प्रदर्शितान् ॥ १ ॥
छंदोभ्रष्ट क्रियान्यस्तं क्रमहीनमसंमितं ।
अपार्थं व्यस्तसंबंधं श्लिष्टागमविरोधि च ॥ २ ॥
यतिभ्रष्टं तथा न्यूनपदं चैकार्थमेव च ।
न्यर्थं रीतिभ्रष्टमवस्थाद्रन्यभेदकम् ॥ ३ ॥

* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 157-164

1 I am preparing a special paper on the unknown works of Rāghava Kavi who flourished between A.D 1758 and 1820 or so

2 This MS contains 25 folios and is written on country paper. It is well preserved and appears to be about 150 years old. It contains the following post-colophon endorsement —

“ पुस्तकमिदं खाण्डेकरोपनामकं जापाजीपतात्मजं
रघुनाथनान्तः सत्यं श्रीमत्पुण्यस्तम्भक्षेत्रे लिखापितम् ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवामुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ” Many works of Rāghava were composed and written at पुण्यस्तम्भक्षेत्र or Puṇtāmbe

तथा देशकलान्यायकालहेतुविरोधिक ।

खण्डिताधिपदे चैव तथा हीनोपमस्मृतम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति वाक्यात्मका दोषा पददोषास्तत क्रमात् ।

स्वसकेतप्रकृत्यार्थमप्रसिद्धमलक्षणम् ॥ ५ ॥

अगौरवं श्रुतिकटुपुनरुक्तिरसंमतं ।

व्याहृतार्थं तथा ग्राम्यं पददोषा. स्मृता तथा ॥ ६ ॥ ”

The Ms ends — (folio 25b)

“ रघुनाथमुखारविन्दतो विगल्पचलसन्मणिज्ञजा ।

इति तद्रचयन्तु सुन्दरं किल कण्ठाभरणं विपश्चित ॥ १०७ ॥

इति श्रीकविकौस्तुभे महाकाव्यकविकुलावतसमनोहरोपनामककृष्णपण्डितसूनुश्रीमद्विक-

मदसूरिसुतश्रीमद्रघुनाथपण्डितकविकृतौ दूषणकथनं नाम द्वितीयं रत्नम् ॥ ”

This colophon gives us the following genealogy of the author Ragunātha Manohara —

(c. A. D. 1600) कृष्णपण्डित of the surname मनोहर

↓
Son

(c. A. D. 1650) भिकमद

↓
Son

(A. D. 1697) रघुनाथपण्डित the author of the कविकौस्तुभ

I am inclined to identify this रघुनाथ मनोहर with रघुनाथ मनोहर, the author of वैद्यविलास, a work on Medicine represented by several Mss¹ in our libraries. References to earlier works and authors mentioned by Raghunātha Manohara in his कविकौस्तुभ are —

1 Vide Aufrecht, CO I, 613, II, 146 — *I O Cata* No 2695 and *B B R., A. S. Cata* by H. D. Velankar, Nos. 206 and 207. There are two Mss of वैद्यविलास at the Govt. Ms. Library (B. O. R. Institute, Poona) No. 600 of 1899-1915 and No. 639 of 1895-1902. They are described by Dr. H. D. Sharma on pp. 363-364 of his *Des. Cata. of Vaidyaka Mss* (Vol. XVI, Part I), 1939. MS No. 600 of 1899-1915 is dated Śaka 1736 = A. D. 1814. It belonged to one दिनकर ज्योतिष (Dinkar Joshi). In some colophons the author is called “ कविकुलावतस रघुनाथपण्डित ” (See fol. 9b). In the Ms. of कविकौस्तुभ also he is called “ कविकुलावतस रघुनाथपण्डित ”. The author refers to himself as “ कविराघव ” in verse 2 at the commencement —

“ सदुक्तिभाजां कविराघवेण वितन्यते वैद्यविलास एव ” The work is styled as “ महाकाव्य ”. No. 639 of 1895-1902 is a very modern copy without date.

In the Gotravali of Konkanastha or Chitpavana Brahmins we find the surname मनोहर. The Gotra of the मनोहर family is भारद्वाज (हिरण्यकेश). The MS of the वैद्यविलास described in the *India Office Catalogue* mentions मनोहर as the surname of its author रघुनाथपण्डित.

- (1) धातुकवे । काव्यशेखरे—fol. 2.
- (2) “मद्विरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम्”—fol. 2, 8,
“यदि द्वितीयं च चतुर्थपञ्चमं...गीता ॥ १० ॥”
- (3) सुश्रुते—fol. 2.
- (4) रघुवशे—fol. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 22, 23
- (5) सुहृत्तचिन्तामणौ—fol. 3.

This work was composed in Śaka 1522 = A. D. 1600 by राम,
son of जनक and पद्मा (Vide pp 275, 278 of S. B. Dikshat :
History of Indian Astronomy, 1896.

- (6) किरावाहुंनीये—fol. 3, 7, 16, 19, 21, 25.
- (7) मम्मट—fol. 3, 6, 18.
- (8) माघ—fol. 3, 10, 19.
- (9) रत्नमालायाम्—fol. 4.
- (10) रसमञ्जर्याम्—fol. 4, 13, 21
- (11) नैपथे—fol. 5, 24.
- (12) “चन्द्रशेखरस्य काव्यकुतूहले”—fol. 5.
- (13) “भवभूते. साहित्यरत्नाकरे”—fol. 6, 23.
- (14) सङ्गीतरत्नाकरे—fol. 7.
- (15) भर्तृहरौ—fol. 7.
- (16) “कविमण्डनस्य ऋतुपञ्चाशिकायाम्”—fol. 8.
“गुञ्जन्तः किल मुकुलेषु मत्तभृङ्गाः
सयाते स्मरन्पतौ सितेषु रेजु ।
भेरीणा प्रसवितपाटले निदाधे
कुर्वन्तो जयनिनदानिव प्रहृष्टा ॥”
- (17) “मयूरकवे. काव्यमण्डने”—fol. 10.
“सर्पि शत्रुपशो हवीरिपुगणाः...त्वया तर्पिताः ॥ ६५ ॥”
- (18) कुमारसम्भवे—fol. 10, 21.
- (19) “मदनकवे. शृङ्गारकौमुद्याम्”—fol. 11.
“कुचकोरकगुप्तिमोदरा नववोढा न पतिं तिरश्चकार ।
भयमीलितलोचना भृशं करपट्केरुहवद्ध ... ॥”
- (20) “वराहमिहिरस्य शृङ्गारतरंगिण्याम्” 1 —fol. 12.
“पीयूष पपुरुषले च चन्द्रकाते
निक्षिप्तं विधुकिरणैर्भृशं चकोराः ।

1 Vide p. 272 of *History of Indian Astronomy*, by S. B. Dikshat शृङ्गारतरंगिणी is a comm.
on अनन्दशतक by सूर्यगूरि or सूर्यदास (Born Śaka 1420 = A. D. 1503)—Vide Aufrecht. I, 600.

प्रेम्णा ते चपलतया च पात्रकल्पे
घर्मांशोस्तरुणकरैर्धनीकृतं च ॥ ५५ ॥ ”

(21) “ धनंजयस्य कामप्रदीपे ”—fol. 12.

“ घनतरनवविन्ध्यकाननाली
कुसुममरुद्रति खिन्नरीणां ।
श्रममहरदयन्विलासिनीनां
सुललितचन्दनवपुष्वेषु भिन्न ॥ ५८ ॥ ”

Vide CC I, 93—कामप्रदीप alam B. 3-46 (of गुणाकर).

(22) प्रबोधचन्द्रोदये—fol. 22

(23) हेमाद्रौ

(24) “ घनञ्जयकवे शृङ्गारमञ्जर्याम् ”—fol. 14

“ ललिततरनिकुञ्जके किनादौ .. मानिनीना ॥ ६९ ॥ ”

(Vide CC I, 661 शृङ्गारमञ्जरी by king Shahaji and a work of this name on अलङ्कार etc.).

(25) “ चिन्तामणिव्याख्यायां शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य ”—fol. 18.

“ चिन्तामणौ—दीधितिव्याख्या ”— (About 1500 A. D).

(26) सारङ्ग्याम्—fol. 19.

“ सुरासुरैर्वन्दितपादपद्म .. देवगुरुं शिव च ॥ ८० ॥ ”

(27) “ कङ्कणकवे भावपञ्चाशिकायाम् ”—fol. 20

“ सिन्धुसूनुपतेर्मित्रं .. भाति ते कीर्तिमण्डलम् ॥ १ ॥ ”

(Vide CC III, 89 -- भावपञ्चाशिका Kāvya by Kavi Vrnda).

(28) “ कुटुम्बकवे प्रस्तावबन्धे ”—fol 20

“ वधाति चन्द्रः किरणैश्चकोरान् प्रकृतिर्हिताय ॥ ८५ ॥ ”

(29) “ लल्लसुहृत्सार ”—fol. 23.

(30) कुवलयानन्दे fol 24—“ उपमा यत्र सादृश्य ..श्रवगाहते ”

Appaya Dikṣita composed the कुवलयानन्द. The life-period of Appaya is A. D. 1554-1626 (72 years) according to his descendants while others assign Appaya to the period A. D 1520-1593 (Vide p. 341 of भट्टोजी-दीक्षित-ज्ञातिविवेक in Marathi by Rao Bahadur W. A. Bambardekar, Bombay, 1939).

It will be seen from the above references that the latest works mentioned by the author of the कविकौस्तुभ are (1) सुहृत्चिन्तामणि of A. D. 1600 and (2) कुवलयानन्द of Appaya Dikṣita (A. D. 1550-1600 or so). We must, therefore, conclude that he flourished after about A. D. 1650. As our author seems to be identical with his name-sake कविकुलावर्तसं रघुनाथपंडित

मनोहर, author of the वैद्यविलास composed in A. D. 1697, the date of कविकौस्तुभ may be between say A. D. 1675 and 1700 or so.

So far only one work of this author, viz वैद्यविलास on *medicine* was known. The present account of the कविकौस्तुभ proves conclusively that he composed this work on *poetics* as well. We have seen above that in this work he refers to and quotes from a work on *prosody* called the छन्दोरत्नावली composed by him "मद्विरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम्" in two places. As no such work has been discovered so far I quote below the verses from this work as quoted by रघुनाथ मनोहर —

Folio 2a — "अत्र छन्दसि मद्विरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम् ॥

यदि द्वितीयं च चतुर्थपञ्चमं

तथाष्टमं तद्दशमं भवेद्गुरु ।

यदाक्षरं द्वादशकं महीपते

गिरन्ति वशस्यमनल्पधीपणा ॥

यदा द्वितीयं च तथा चतुर्थं

सखे भवेत्येव चमकं च दीर्घं ।

तथाष्टमं वा दशमं तथान्यम्

उपेन्द्रवज्रारण्यु(?)पुना गीता ॥ "

Folio 3a : — "अत्र प्रथमचतुर्थचरणयोर्यतिमङ्गे । छन्दोरत्नावल्याम्

सखे यदि च षष्ठकं तदनुचाष्टकं द्वादशं

द्वितीयमपि यत्र वा गुरु च षोडशाद्यान्यगौ ।

चतुर्दशमथ क्रमात्सकलभाग्यवारानिधे

श्रुतिद्वयसरीसृपैर्विरतिरङ्गं पृथ्वी मता ॥ "

It is clear from the above three verses quoted by our author that he composed this छन्दोरत्नावलि earlier than his composition of the कविकौस्तुभ. Perhaps a Ms of Raghunātha's छन्दोरत्नावलि may be discovered hereafter. The present paper has added two more works to the only work वैद्यविलास of Raghunātha, known to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature. It has also given us the names of his father भिकमठ and his grandfather कृष्ण-पदित not found in the Mss of the वैद्यविलास as we find them described in our catalogues¹ of Sanskrit Mss. The genealogy of रघुनाथ मनोहर thus goes back to about A. D. 1600.

¹ B. B. R. A. S. Mss Catalogue by H. D. Velankar, Vol. I, 1925, describes 2 Mss of the Vaidyavilāsa. He describes the work as follows on p. 70 —

"A popular treatise on medicine in 10 chapters (tarangas) composed in 1697 A. D. by Raghunāthapānī of the Manolara family and a resident of चेपावती (भागलपुर). For another Ms of the work having only 8 chapters Cf I. O. No. 2697. See also Uttar Catā, p. 72."

(Continued on the next page)

As regards the native place of Raghunātha we learn from the India Office Ms of the वैद्यविलास that it was चपावती which has been wrongly identified with Bhagalpur by Dr. Eggeling ¹ in his description of this Ms. As the author was a Deccan Brahmin his residence must have been somewhere in the Deccan. This suggestion gets confirmation from the identification of चपावती with Chaul as we find it in the following verse in the *Śivabhārata* of Kavindra Paramānanda composed for Shivaṃ before A. D. 1674 —

Chap. XXVIII, 59 — Here the Mogul General Shaista Khān orders another Muslim Sardar to conquer चपावती —

“ चपावत्यथ कल्याणपुरं भीमपुरी तथा ।

पणवल्ली पुनर्नागस्थानं कार्यं त्वयात्मसात् ॥ ५९ ॥ ” ²

Apart from the usage of the name चपावती for Chaul as found in a poem of the latter part of the 17th century, when Raghunātha Manohara

(Continued from the last page)

The Ms ends — “ इति द्रव्यप्रमाणम् ।

महेन्दुरसचन्द्रे च शाके मासि च कार्तिके ।

अथ वैद्यविलासश्च चरितो वृषवत्सरे ॥ ५२ ॥

“

मनोहरकुलाम्बोधे रघुनाथविधोर्भुव ।

वागधैर्मै रसज्ञानां हृत्पद्मं विकसत्विह ॥ ५४ ॥

चम्पावतीपुरनिवासवतादरेण

संदर्भितश्च रघुनाथकवीश्वरेण ।

मोदाय वैद्यविदुषां गदखण्डनाय

मान्य सता जयति वैद्यविलास एष ॥ ५५ ॥

इति श्रीवैद्यविलासमहाकाव्ये कविकुलावतसरघुनाथपंडितकृतौ दशमस्तरंग. ॥१०॥ ”

¹ Vide p. 949 of *I O Mss Cata Pt. VII* (1896)—Ms No. 2695

“ *Valdyavilāsa..* by Raghunātha (or Rāghava) Pandita Kavīśvara of the *Manohara Kūla* a resident of चपावतीपुर (Bhāgalpur)” Mr Nandalal Dey on p 228 of his *Geographical Dictionary* refers to Chaul as follows —

“ Chaul — चपावती, 25 miles South of Bombay, it is the *Semylla* of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* ”

(See also p 46, *Ibid* and DaCunha's *History of Chaul and Bassin*, pp 3--11)

² चपावती=चौल, कल्याणपुर=कल्याण, भीमपुरी=भिवडी, पणवल्ली=पनवेल, नागस्थान=नागोठणें. Shaista Khān gave the above order during his camp at Poona (पुण्यपुरस्थित शास्ताखान.).

lived at this place we may note here the fact that *Chaul* or *Revdaṇḍā* (in the Alibagh Sub-division of the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency) is a place of great antiquity. "Under the names of चंपावती and रेवतीक्षेत्र local Hindu traditions trace it to the times when Krishna reigned in Gujarat." ¹

We may now sum up the facts so far brought forth regarding the life-history and literary activity of रघुनाथ as follows --

(1) Raghunātha Manohara composed the following works --

(1) वैद्यविलास on Medicine composed in A D 1697.

(2) छन्दोरत्नावलि a work on prosody mentioned and quoted in the कविकौस्तुभ — No MS discovered so far.

(3) कविकौस्तुभ on Poetics represented by only one Ms in the possession of Vaidya S. A. Khandekar of Nasik. This Ms belonged to Rāghava Āpā Khandekar (A.D 1758-1825)

(2) The genealogy of Raghunātha as recorded by him in his कविकौस्तुभ is as follows --

कृष्णपंडित — son भिकंभट — son रघुनाथ

(c. 1600 A D) — (c. 1650 A.D.) — (A D. 1697).

(3) The native place of Raghunātha Manohara was चम्पावती which appears to be identical with *Chaul* about 25 miles south of Bombay.

(4) In his कविकौस्तुभ Raghunātha mentions and quotes from the following works which are not recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* --

(i) काव्यशेखर

(ii) His own छन्दोरत्नावलि.

(iii) काव्यकुतूहल.

(iv) ऋतुपञ्चाशिका

(v) काव्यमण्डन.

¹ Vidop. p. 376 *Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. III, (1885). From the History of *Chaul* recorded here we learn that Chaul was known to Ptolemy (A D 150), to the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (A D 217) and to Hsien Tsang (A D 612) The Arab travellers of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries also refer to it. The subsequent travellers to refer to Chaul are -- (1) Nic. d. ... (A D 1170), Jean H. ... (A D 1533). In 1505 A D the Portuguese first appeared at Chaul.

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- (vi) शृङ्गारकौमुदी.
- (vii) सारङ्गी.
- (viii) प्रस्तावबंध.
- (ix) भावपञ्चाशिका ¹

1 The work भावपञ्चाशिका mentioned by Raghunātha appears to have been in Sanskrit. Kavi Vrnda's भावपञ्चाशिका mentioned by Aufrecht (CC III, 83) appears to be a Hindi work. Vide B O R. Institute No 364 of 1892-95 — “ इति श्रीकवीश्वरविरचीता भावपञ्चाशिका संपूर्णा.” The Ms records two dates, viz. (1) संवत् १७४३ (A. D. = 1687) and (2) संवत् १९४७ which is not obviously Vikrama Samvat. The first date may represent the date of composition while the second represents the date of the copy.

6. Karpūriya Śivadatta and his Medical Treatises — Between A. D. 1625 and 1700 *

Aufrecht records the following manuscripts of *Śivakośa* by Śivadatta with his own commentary.—

CC, I, 647 — “ शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Oxf. 195a. ”¹

CC, II, 154 — “ शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Comm.—Śivaprakāśa by the same, Stein 54. ”²

Both the MSS of the *Śivakośa* and its commentary *Śivaprakāśa* mentioned by Aufrecht are inaccessible to me for study and analysis. Subsequent to the publication of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* the B. O. R. Institute published a list³ of MSS added to the Government MSS Library. In this list we find a complete MS of the *Śivakośa* with the *Śivaprakāśa*, viz No 616 of 1895-1902. As the lexicon was composed in A. D. 1677 and as it is a compilation based on many early lexicons and other works it is worthwhile recording a complete list of the works and authors mentioned in it especially because no such list has been given either by Aufrecht or Stein. Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā also refers to this lexicon casually in his survey⁴ of lexicons. Aufrecht⁵ mentions संज्ञासमुच्चय as the work of Śivadatta and records only one MS of it, viz. “ L. 1481. ” This MS has been described by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Notices of*

* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Parts 1 and 2, pp 66-70.

1 Vide p 195 of Aufrecht's *Catalogue of MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1864. Aufrecht has pointed out the date of the lexicon viz Śaka 1599 (= A. D. 1677) represented by the chronogram “ नवग्रहतिथि ” at the end of the work

2 Vide p 54 of *Catalogue of Janam MSS* (1891).

MS No 338 — शिवकोशव्याख्या शिवप्रकाश. by शिवदत्त कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज — dated Samvat 1880 (= 1824), complete. The text and commentary are by the same author — Date of composition Śaka 1599 (A. D. 1677).

The B. O. R. I MS No 616 of 1895-1902 has the following colophons —

Text — “ इति कर्पूरीय शिवदत्तकृतः शिवकोश पूर्णः . ”

Comm. — “ इति श्रीकर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज मिश्रशिवदत्तकृतः शिवप्रकाशः पूर्णः . ”

3 Vide p 23 of *List of MSS* (B. O. R. I.) Poona, 1925

4 Vide p. I intro. to *Kalpadrūpa*, Vol. 1, Baroda, 1928 — The *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta composed in 1677 is homonymous and has a commentary called *Śivaprakāśa* ”

5. CC, I 657 — “ संज्ञासमुच्चय med. by Śivadatta, L. 1481. ”

Sanskrit MSS. ¹ It was copied in A. D. 1719 and is perhaps the oldest dated MS of Śivadatta's works. At any rate it is removed in point of time by about 42 years from the *Śivakośa* and its commentary. Śivadatta ² was a physician trained under his own father Caturbhuja and other eminent and learned physicians of his time as stated by him in verse 2 at the close of his संज्ञासमुच्चय

Works and authors mentioned by Śivadatta in his own commentary on the *Śivakośa* (MS No 616 of 1895-1902) are —

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. वाग्भट, fol. 1 | 19. बोपदेव fol. 8 |
| 2. शब्दार्णव, fol. 2 | 20. देवल, fol. 9 |
| 3. मेदिनी, fol. 3 | 21. सिंह, fol. 10 |
| 4. विश्व, fol. 3 | 22. हलायुध, fol. 10 |
| 5. धन्वतरी, fol. 3 | 23. द्विरूपकोष, fol. 10 |
| 6. भावमिश्र, fol. 3 (O A D 1550) | 24. मेघदूत, fol. 11 |
| 7. राजनिघट्ट, fol. 4 | 25. विश्वलोचन, fol. 11, (Vide my paper in the <i>Karnatak Historical Review</i> , III, 15-20). |
| 8. केयदेव, fol. 4 [Vide my paper in <i>Annals B O R. Institute</i> , XIX, 188-190] | 26. वाग्भट्टाचार्य fol. 11 |
| 9. अभिधानचूडामणि, fol. 4 | 27. तारपाल, fol. 12 |
| 10. अमर, fol. 4 | 28. लोचन, fol. 12, (See No 25 above) |
| 11. हृदयदीपक, fol. 4 | 29. गुणरत्नमाला, fol. 13 |
| 12. निघट्ट, fol. 5, निर्वट्ट (5) | 30. सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश, fol. 14 |
| 13. ढल्लण, fol. 5 | 31. वैद्यवल्लभ, fol. 14, 62 |
| 14. वाचस्पति, fol. 5, 6 | 32. रत्नकोष, fol. 15 |
| 15. हैम, fol. 6 | 33. रुद्र, fol. 15 |
| 16. वाष्पचद्र., fol. 6 | 34. रभस, fol. 15 |
| 17. मदनविनोद, fol. 7 | 35. बाणभट्ट, fol. 15 |
| 18. त्रिकाङ्गशेष fol. 8 | |

¹ Vide p 79, of Vol. IV of *Notices* — MS No. 1481 Dated Śaka 1641 = (A D 1719) — A treatise on Nosology, Therapeutics and Materia Medica By Śivadatta Miśra.

End — “संज्ञासमुच्चयममु लघुवाग्भट्टादि-

ग्रन्थप्रकाशनपर विषयस्थलेषु ।

तातादधीत विधिवद्वरचैद्यविद्य

चक्रे चतुर्भुजसुत शिवदत्तमिश्र ॥ २ ॥ ”

² Vide Aufrecht, CC, II, 60 — नलोदयटीका by शिवदत्त Peters 5 351 = MS No 351 1892-95.

This शिवदत्त calls himself “ भगवन्मिश्रतनूज . ”

36. दमयन्तीकाव्य, fol. 15
 37. अमरचंद्र, fol. 16
 38. रमरत्नसमुच्चये चाग्भटाचार्य, fol. 16
 39. शाश्वत, fol. 20
 40. लोलिवराज, fol. 21, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, VII, Nos. 3-4)
 41. धर्मदास, fol. 22
 42. माधव, fol. 22
 43. नाममाला, fol. 24
 44. केशव, fol. 25
 45. नान्यदेव fol. 25
 46. अमरमाला, fol. 32
 47. वोपालित, fol. 32
 48. धर्मिष्ठ, fol. 33
 49. आश्वर्यमजरी, fol. 33
 50. धरणि, fol. 34
 51. राम, fol. 35
 52. भारवि, fol. 35
 53. हेमचंद्र, fol. 36
 54. सुभूति, fol. 37, [Vide my paper in *Annals* (B. O. R Institute) XVI, 313—314 and Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri Volume, 41-51]
 55. हारावलि, fol. 39
 56. अजय, fol. 41
 57. पुरुषोत्तम, fol. 41
 58. सुकुट, fol. 44, 68
 59. रामाश्रमा fol. 45, 57, 59, 83, 91, 93, 96
 60. माघ, fol. 45
 61. वृद्धा, fol. 47
 62. नारायणभट्टा, fol. 53
 63. माला, fol. 53
 64. हेमाद्रि, fol. 59, (Hemādri's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* is possibly referred to (Vide my Introduction to *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* edited by Harishastri Paradkar, N.S Press, Bombay 1938))
 65. सुश्रुत, fol. 59
 66. अष्टांगसंग्रह, fol. 66
 67. वंगसेन, fol. 68, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, III, 535-543)
 68. रतिदेव, fol. 73
 69. प्राच्या, fol. 71
 70. वृद्धचंद्र, fol. 74
 71. चंद्रनदन, fol. 74
 72. रूपनारायण, fol. 76, 83
 73. स्वामी, fol. 77, 83
 74. कालिदास, fol. 80.
 75. विदग्धमुखमडन, fol. 88
 76. जेजुट, fol. 90
 77. भवभूति, fol. 92
 78. गुणमाला fol. 93
 79. उत्पलिनीकोष, fol. 104

Many of the lexicons in the above list are mentioned innumerable times but I have desisted from noting all these references for want of space. I shall prove in a separate paper that the references to " रामाश्रमाः " by Śivadatta (Vide No. 59 in the above list) are to the " व्याख्यासुधा " commentary on the *Amaraśoṣa* by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. Bhānuji flourished between A. D. 1600 and 1650 or so and hence

1 Vide my paper on the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Annals*, (Tirupati Ori. Institute), Vol. I, pp. 117-127. Bhānuji was a contemporary of Varadarāja, the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji (Vide my *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, pp. 145-150).

may be looked upon as the senior contemporary of Śivadatta, who composed his lexicon in A. D. 1677

It appears that Śivadatta was a learned physician and had an equally learned son of the name Kṛṣṇadatta, who composed, a commentary on the *Dravyagunaśataśloki* of Trimalla.¹ This commentary is called *Dīpikā* or *Dravyadīpikā*. Aufrecht records the following MSS of this commentary — CC, I, 120 — “Oudh IX, 26” and “NP, V, 30”

CC, II, 51 — “Rgb 922” (by कृष्णदत्त son of शिवदत्त) The MS “Rgb 922” is identical with No 922 of 1884-87 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This MS contains a corrupt colophon as follows —

folio 33 — “विश्वदत्तचतुर्भुजतातावासविद्यशिवदत्तसुतस्य । कृष्णदत्तः कृतिन कृतिरेषा”

It is clear from this colophon that कृष्णदत्त was the son of शिवदत्त, who was himself the son of चतुर्भुज. In verse 2 at the beginning of the work Kṛṣṇadatta refers to his own authorship of the work as follows —

“त्रिमल्लभट्टरचितो यो द्रव्यगुणसंग्रह ।

कृष्णदत्तेन तट्टीका क्रियते द्रव्यदीपिका ॥ २ ॥”

On the strength of the data gathered so far we can reconstruct the following genealogy of Śivadatta's family —

कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुज (A. D. 1600-1650)

|
Son

{ Between } शिवदत्त — Composed शिवकोश with commentary in A D
A D 1625 } 1677 and सज्ञासमुच्चय (MS of A D 1719)
and 1700 }

|
Son

(C. A D 1700) कृष्णदत्त composed द्रव्यदीपिका

Aufrecht has already pointed out that शिवदत्तमिश्र is mentioned in the *Kavīndracandrodaya*. This work has now been published.² In the list of Benares Pandits whose tributes to Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī³ are recorded in the above work we find the name of शिवदत्तमिश्र. The identity of

1 Trimalla flourished between A D 1388 and 1499 according to Prof H D Velankar (Vide p 59 the Catalogue of B B. R. A Society MSS, Vol I (1925) — MS No 175 of Dravya-gunaśataśloki).

2 Edited by Dr Hara Datta Sharma and Mr M. M. Patkar, published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1939.

3 Vide my paper on “Bermer and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court” (Annals of the S. V. Ori. Institute, Tirupati, Vol I Part 4, pp 1-16)

this शिवदत्तमिश्र with his namesake the author of the *Śivakośa* needs to be examined. *Śivakośa* was composed in A. D. 1677 by Śivadatta and it is highly probable that this author, who was a junior contemporary of Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī may have joined other Benares Pandits in their chorus of congratulations offered to Kavindrācārya on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax at Benares through the successful intervention of Kavindrācārya with Emperor Shah Jahan (A. D. 1628-1658).

The editors of the *Kavindrācandrodaya* make the following remarks regarding Śivadatta Miśra in their Introduction (p. viii) —

“ 41. *Śivadatta Miśra*, son of Caturbhuja, author of *Śivakośa* written in 1677 and *Samjñā Samuccaya* (med.) (CC. I, 649a). Prose passages 1-14 on p. 26. ”

Evidently they tentatively follow the identification of the Ś. Miśra of the *Kavindrācandrodaya* with his namesake, the author of the *Śivakośa* as suggested by Aufrecht. We have, however, to see if the prose passages ascribed to Śivadatta Miśra furnish any conclusive proof about this identity. My examination of prose passages shows nothing in them to prove the above identity except the identity of names indicated by the expression.

“ शिवदत्तमिश्रानामेताश्चतुर्दशप्रशस्त्यनुपूर्वम्. ”

Prof Velankar describes a MS¹ of a commentary on the *Rasahrdaya* of Govinda. This commentary was composed by one चतुर्भुजमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र of the Kurala family (कुरलवंशपयोधि). Has this चतुर्भुजमिश्र of the कुरलवंश any connection with the कर्पूरीयचतुर्भुजमिश्र? This question cannot be answered at present.

¹ Vidya 64 of Cat. of B. B. R. A. Socy's MSS, Vol. I (1925) — MS No 192. One चतुर्भुज composed his रसकल्पद्रुम in Samvat 1705 = A. D. 1649 (Vidya p. XXIV of Stein's Kashmir Catalogue) for Shāyana Khān.

7 Exact Date of the Advaitasudhā of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (A. D. 1663) and his possible Identity with Lakṣmaṇārya, the Vedānta teacher of Nīlakanṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata *

My friend Mr K. M. K. Śarmā, Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, has just published a note, on सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा (a Dissertation on the *Raghuvamśa*) by Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita. ¹ I note below some points from Mr. Sarma's note —

(1) The only work of LP (= लक्ष्मणपण्डित) well-known to scholars is his commentary सारचन्द्रिका on the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*

(2) लक्ष्मण the author of the *Yoga Candrikā* (CC, I, 536) and लक्ष्मण the author of सारचन्द्रिका are identical

(3) There are two MSS of the *Yoga Candrikā* ² in the Anup Library, Bikaner (Nos. 4404 and 4405) One of these MSS, viz No. 4405 is dated *Samvat* 1747 (= A. D 1690)

(4) LP was of *Kaundinya Gotra* He was the son of Datta and Gojāmbikā

(5) LP was the younger brother of Ganeśa and Raghunātha of Benares

(6) Nāgeśa and Nārāyana, his maternal uncles, were his preceptors in medical science.

(7) उत्तमश्लोकीर्य (the author of लघुवातिस्कीर्य) was his preceptor in *Advaita*.

* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol X, No. 1 and 2, Pages 1-7

¹ Vide pp. 69-72 of *Jour of Gangaratha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol II, Part 1 (November, 1914)

² There is a MS of the *Yoga-Candrikā* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute (No 763 of 1832-93) It is called *Vaidyala Yoga-Candrikā* In verse 3 LP refers to his gurus in medicine, viz. नागनाथ and नारायण as follows —

Folio 6 — “विचक्षणानां युवनागनाथनारायणो तावद्द्वैततोऽस्मि.” This MS is dated Śaka 1778 (= A. D 1956) The MS belonged to भाऊ भटजी पुराणीक वोरसाडवाडीकर It was copied from the original belonging to “रामचंद्र मखाराम गोजरे”

(8) He pays his homage to रामाश्रम also. This Rāmāśrama is possibly identical with his name-sake, the son of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita. If this identity is correct we get about A. D. 1650 as the upper limit for the date of LP.

(9) The lower limit for the date of LP is A. D. 1690, the date of the Bikaner MS of his *Yoga Candrikā*.

(10) We can assign LP to the latter half of the 17th century, i.e. between A. D. 1650 and 1700.

(11) There is a MS of the सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा of LP in the Anup Library, Bikaner. It is a philosophical and grammatical dissertation on the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa. The MS contains 66 folios ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$) containing the commentary upto the 16th verse of Canto I.

I have now to add the following information about LP and his works as gathered by me during the course of my studies —

(1) Mr Sarma is correct in assigning LP to the period c. A. D. 1650-1700.

(2) There is a MS of the *Advaitasudhā* of LP in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is No. 113 of 1902-1907. In this MS we find the exact date¹ of composition of this *Advaita* work, viz. *Samvat 1719 = A. D. 1663*.

(3) LP was a contemporary of Nilakantha Caturdhara the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, who flourished at Benares between A. D. 1650 and 1700 as I have proved in several papers.

(4) The *Catalogue of Alwar Darbar MSS* by Peterson (1891), p. 19 describes a work called अद्वैतसुधाकल्प which is possibly identical with the अद्वैतसुधा (B. O. R. I. MS) and the सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा (Bikaner MS). Peterson makes the following remarks about this Alwar MS —

" 484 — अद्वैतसुधाकल्प by लक्ष्मण, son of दत्तसूरि of the कौण्डिन्यकुल and गोत्रा of the आत्रेयकुल of Benares. गणेश and रघुनाथ were his elder brothers and नारद and नारायण, his uncles on the mother's side. He praises his teacher उत्तमलोक and रामाश्रम. दत्त's father was विश्वनाथ. Our

1 The colophon of the MS records this date —

" नन्देन्दुस्वरधरणी गणेष्वक्तं पन्ति गतवति विक्रमे क्रमेण ।

दृष्टोपितगिरिना तिसौ बुद्धिदा वारदेशीकृतिविशुद्धिर्नम प्रसिद्धा ॥ "

The chronogram नन्द (9), इन्दु (1), स्वर (7), धरणी (1) is equal to Samvat 1719 = A. D. 1663. I have described this MS on pp. 20-21 of my *Cat. of Kāya MSS (B. O. R. Institute)*, Vol. XIII, Part II (1912).

author was a hearer of शुक्रदीक्षित's lectures and he 'learned तर्क from माधव and वेद from his father "

(5) S. R. Bhandarkar's Report on MSS (2nd Tour—1904-1906) p. 45, describes a MS of the अद्वैतसुधा as follows — "*Advantasudhā*, commentary on the सारस्वतोपनिषद् which is also called रघुवंश. It is by लक्ष्मणपंडित son of (द)त्तसूरि, an ornament of the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् family. The author was kindly regarded by उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ महामुनि. An attempt is made therein to interpret the रघुवंश so as to yield a Vedāntic meaning "

(6) The India Office Library contains two MSS of the (Vaidyaka) *Yoga-Candrikā* [vide p. 982 of *I. O. Cata*, Part I by Eggeling (1896)] These are —

No 2753— योगचन्द्रिका a treatise on materia medica in 38 chapters by लक्ष्मणपंडित, son of दत्त. The author studied medicine at Benares under the tuition of two brothers नागेश (नागनाथ) and नारायण and had three elder brothers गणेश, रघुनाथ and राम and a younger brother विठ्ठल ¹ This MS is dated Samvat 1800 (= A. D 1744)

No 2754— Do—Copied by one लम्बोदर in Samvat 1733 (= A. D 1676). This MS is the *earliest dated MS* of *Vaidyakacandrikā* of LP. It is 14 years earlier than the Bikaner MS of the work copied in A. D 1690 as pointed out by Mr Sarma.

(7) LP States in verse 10 at the end of the *Advantasudhā* as follows —

“ स लक्ष्मणो दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रिय सदानन्दममन्दमिच्छन् ।
काश्यामुदासीनमति शरीरे विश्वेशसेवी समयाकरोति ॥ १० ॥ ”

Evidently LP was a southerner. He abandoned his property at home and becoming indifferent to the world went to Benares. LP was possibly a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin as the name of his mother, viz. गोजा suggests. We must, however, get more data for proving this point conclusively.

(8) Works and authors mentioned by LP in his *Advantasudhā* (B. O. R. I MS No 103 of 1902-1907) are —

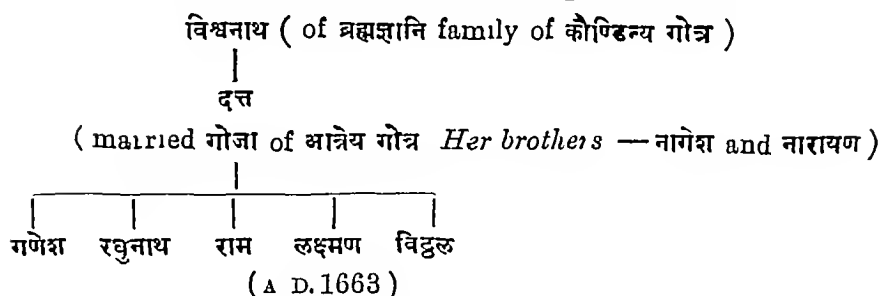
विश्व, अमर, याज्ञवल्क्यवचनव्याख्या, कामधेनौ, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणव्याख्याता, अमरचन्द्र, विवरणार्थचरणा, मालविकाग्निमित्रे, मेदिनी, कान्यप्रकाश, चित्रमामासा, कैयटे, वेद-निघटौ, एकाक्षरनाममाला, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे भोजराज, बृहदारण्यक, वशत्राखण, केशव, वार्तिककारपादा, जावालधुति, कौर्म, ईश्वरगीता, शारीरकभाष्य, मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर,

¹ This information is gathered from the last three volumes of the MS reproduced by Eggeling

संक्षेपशारीरक, नानार्थरत्नमाला, नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धेः, वार्तिकसारे, श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत्, विश्वप्रकाशे, बृहदारण्यकभाष्ये, चोपालित, किरातार्जुनीये, भट्टि, गीताभाष्ये, त्रिष्णुपुराण, पाणिनीये, श्लोक-
वार्तिककार, न्यायरस्तावर, शावरभाष्यवृत्ति, उत्तमश्लोक, वाग्भटे, सुश्रुत, उच्छृण, रत्नमाला,
माधव, हरदत्त, नामनाला, भागवते, महाभारते, वालरामायणे, ऋग्वेदभाष्ये, भोजेन, श्रीहर्ष,
अमरक, आत्मपुराणे, प्रबोधचन्द्रोदये, दशरूपक, विष्णुसूक्तशाय, गौडपाद, उपदेशसाहस्रनाम भगव-
त्पादः, मोक्षधर्मे, अद्वैतमकरन्द, चक्रदत्त, मुरारि, पार्वतजलमहाभाष्यकार, चरक, राघवपाण्डवीये,
वाजसनेयके, तैत्तिरीयभाष्ये, अग्निपुराणे, हेमाद्रौ, कूर्मपुराणे, राघवानन्द, व्याख्यातारः सर्वज्ञ-
नारायणादयः, पराशरमाधरीग, विश्वादर्श, जैमिनीये, नानार्थकोष, भामतीनिबन्धे, शब्दकौस्तुभे,
विश्वशम्भु, आनन्दगिरि, नृसिंहाश्रम, कल्पतरुकार, न्यायसूत्रकारः, संतनकर, साख्या, सर्वज्ञा-
त्मगुरु, माधवाचार्य, पराशरस्मृति, इष्टसिद्धि, नारदादि स्मृति, स्कान्दे, योगीश्वरोक्तं, दक्ष,
पारमर्षसूत्रे, वात्स्यायन, “ श्रीवीरभट्टकृतया वात्स्यायनसूत्रतत्त्वामकथया ”, सौगतमते, ताटका-
चार्ये सार्वभौमप्रये, भविष्यपुराणे, उदयनाचार्ये, रत्नमित्र, प्रबोधोपनिषद्भाष्य, गारुडे, श्रीकटाचार्य,
मध्वमुखमन्दन, शिवाद्वैतविनिर्णय, धर्म्मतत्त्वसिद्धौ, आनन्दतीर्थ, उत्कलाचार्य, नृसिंहमिश्र, विशारण्य-
गुरभिः, शास्त्रदर्पणे, अनुक्रमणिकाकारा, वृत्तिकारो हलायुध, भर्तृहरि, भट्ट सोमेश्वर, वास्यपदीय-
व्याख्यातार, संगीतरत्नाकर, शार्ङ्गधराचार्य, जयदेव, स्वात्मयोगप्रदीपिका, अभिनवगुप्त, रत्नेश्वर,
दंडिना, भवभूति, कृष्णमिश्र, रामचन्द्रसरस्वती, मुरारिमिश्र, भट्टिकाव्य, त्रिल्लवमंगल, गोविंदराज,
राजसेखर, भट्टवाण, रायमुकुट, अबुलालकर रामचन्द्रभट्टानाम्, विश्वादर्श कविकान्तसरस्वती-
नाम्, ब्राह्मपुराणे, बृहदारण्यकीये, मार्कण्डेये, ईश्वरगीता, शिवगीता, वासिष्ठ, भगवद्गीता, पंचपा-
दिका, भट्टभास्कर, आत्मगीता, संडनकृत्, अथर्वशिखा, आश्वमेधिके, उत्तररामायणे, एकाक्षर-
रत्नमाला, धरणि, गर्भोपनिषद्, “ सर्वोऽर्थमपरित्यागीस्वरूपेऽकात्रसंस्थित । उग इत्येवविख्यातो
महाराष्ट्रादिभाषया ॥ ”, महाधर्म्मादिनाम्नतितुल्यभद्रशेन । प्रियमित्येवकण्ठादभाष्याव्यपदिश्यते ॥ ”
(folio 18 of Kalāpa III), आपस्तव, हरिणा, गणरत्न, देशीकोशः, आपस्तवाचार्य, त्रिष्णु-
वर्म्मोत्तरात्, वादरायण, गौडपादीयभाष्य, भगवान् भाष्यकारः, शाश्वत, मुडक, भगवत्पाद,
ब्राह्मपुराणे, ब्राह्मणगीता, मार्कण्डेयपुराणे, तत्त्वप्रदीपिका, चित्सुखाचार्य, ज्ञानसिद्धिकृता, न्यायसुधा,
आचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्र, वासिष्ठे माधवादिनिबन्धेषु, वार्तिकसारे, भागवत-एकादशस्कन्ध, सोम-
नाथपण्डितैः, कविकल्पद्रुम, शब्दकौस्तुभे हरदत्तः, वासिष्ठः, अनुगीता, विवरणोक्ते, कामधर्म्मो
छण्डाभरणव्याख्यानात्, बोपदेव, नारायणसरस्वत्यादि गौडवेदान्तिप्रयेषु शारीरकवार्तिकदिपु,
शिवपुराणे, अत्तण्डनट, योगाचार्यवार्पण्य, सुरेश्वराचार्य, अद्वैतदीपिका, उपदेशसाहस्रनाम्,
प्रबोधोपनिषन्मुडकमाडुक्योत्तरतापनीयादि, ब्रह्माद्वैतश्रीरुणमिश्र, कैवल्यकेनोपनिषदादि, शिव-
तत्त्वप्रियेक, पूर्वतापनीयोपनिषद्, महोपनिषद्, सर्वज्ञात्मगुरुके .

The foregoing list of works and authors mentioned by LP has been made by me cursorily, but it is sufficient to prove the wide range of study carried on by LP at Benares. In fact LP shows familiarity with practically all branches of Sanskrit learning. We must, therefore, investigate and see if he composed any other works besides the अद्वैतसुधा, योगचन्द्रिका and सारचन्द्रिका referred to above.

(9) The genealogy of LP may be represented as follows —



(10) The chronology of the works of LP and their extant MSS as discussed in the present paper is as follows —

A D 1560-1620 — Bhattoj Diksita flourished at Benares.

LP mentions Bhattoj's शब्दकौस्तुभ in अद्वैतसुधा

„ 1550-1600 — Appaya Diksita flourished at Benares.

LP mentions चित्रमीमांसा and other works of Appaya Diksita in अद्वैतसुधा.

„ 1663 — LP composed his अद्वैतसुधा at Benares

„ 1676 — India Office MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ 1690 — Bikaner MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ 1743 — India Office MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP

„ 1856 — B O. R Institute MS of the अद्वैतसुधा of LP

(11) Aufrecht (CC I, 536) refers to one namesake of LP in the following entry —

“ लक्ष्मणभट्ट perhaps the guru of नीलकण्ठ (भारतभावदीपिका) (composed) महाभारतटीका ”.

Of CC, I, 139 — “ महाभारतटीका by लक्ष्मणभट्ट (Burnell 148^a) ” MS mentioned by Aufrecht as “ Burnell 184^a ” is identical with MS No 8660 of *Tanjore Des Catalogue*, Vol XV, p 6185.

This is a MS of विराटपर्वप्रकाश of लक्ष्मणभट्ट and it is dated Śaka 1589 = A. D 1667.

I find it difficult to accept Aufrecht's suggested identity of this लक्ष्मणभट्ट with लक्ष्मणाय 1 mentioned by नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर as his guru in Vedānta in the following verses —

1 Vide *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa*, Poona, April 1923, page 63—my article on Nārāyaṇatīrtha, the guru of Nīlakantha Caturdhara in *Mīmāṃsā*.

“ वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणाय ऋतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थनारायणाय
तर्के धीरेशमिश्र फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगद्गाधरायम् ।
वेदे साक्षे पितृव्य शिवमथ पितर दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ
श्रौते चिन्तामणिर्यः शरणमुपगतो भूम्नि गोपालदेवम् ॥ ”

I am, however, inclined to suggest that लक्ष्मणाय mentioned by नीलकण्ठ as his guru in Vedānta in the above stanza is possibly identical with लक्ष्मणपडित, the author of the अद्वैतसुधा, who was a senior contemporary of नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर at Benares, say between A D 1630 and 1675. We have seen already that लक्ष्मणपडित constantly refers to his guru उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ in his अद्वैतसुधा. नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर also refers to (1) his Vedānta teacher लक्ष्मणाय and (2) उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ in the following stanzas of his रुद्रसारसंग्रह्याख्या —

“ गोपाल भूम्नि वेदे शिवमथचिनये दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ
वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणाय ऋतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थनारायणायम् ।
तर्के धीरेशमिश्रान् फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगद्गाधरायम्
श्रौते चिन्तामणिं गुरुमकृतकृतिं तस्य सन्त पुनन्तु ॥
उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थोऽधिपलब्धसंयुक्तमौक्तिकैः ।
खचिता रुद्रसूक्तस्य चोतता धीमतां हृदि ॥ ”¹

I may also point out that लक्ष्मणभट्ट, the author of विराटपर्वप्रकाश (MS of A. D 1667) styles himself as “ श्रीभट्टभट्टात्मजशशिण्डव्य लक्ष्मण etc ” He is therefore, different from लक्ष्मणपडित, the son of गोजा and दत्त and the author of the अद्वैतसुधा

I hope the information about LP, the author of the *Advaitasudhā*, recorded by me in this paper will enable other scholars to study his works more closely than they have done hitherto. In particular I would invite definite evidence from such scholars on the following points —

(1) My suggested identity of LP with लक्ष्मणाय mentioned by Nīlakantha Caturdhara as his guru in Vedānta

(2) Any more information about LP than what is recorded by me above, especially about his descendants and the *Brahmajñāni* family of *Kaundinya Gotra* to which he belonged

(3) Exact dates of composition of the works of LP other than the *Advaitasudhā* composed in A. D. 1663

(4) Was LP a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin ? If so, can we get any information about his migration to Benares from the Maratha sources ? LP

definitely states that he abandoned his property in the South and went to Benares (दक्षिणदिशि श्रिय अपास्य काश्यामुदासीनमति. शरीरे etc)

(5) Can we get any more historical information about the contact of LP with his gurus उत्तमश्लोकीर्था and रामाश्रम,¹ mentioned as मुनिद्वय in the अद्वैतसुधा ?

¹ Vide my paper in the *Prājavāṇī*, Calcutta, 1914 on "A Critical survey of the Namesakes of Rāmāśrama (Between A. D. 1600 and 1677 ").

8 Fragments of Poems pertaining to King

Śambhu, Son of Shivaji *

More than two years ago Mr. K. N. Deshapande, B. A., LL. B., pleader, Kolhapur, discovered two fragments of Manuscripts, one Sanskrit and the other Marathi, in the records of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur and he was kind enough to prepare copies of them and forward them to Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B. A., Editor, Peshwa Daftar. In the meanwhile I published in the *Annals* Vol. XVI, pp 262-291 my paper on *Harī Kavi, the Court-poet of King Sambhaji and his Works*. As some of the fragments of the Mss copied by Mr. Deshapande contained new material about the reign of the same Maratha King Sambhaji and appeared to form portion of some unknown complete poems, Mr. Sardesai desired that I should publish these fragments with their critical analysis. I gratefully agreed to this suggestion and wanted to avail myself of the originals of the copies prepared by Mr. Deshapande. As, however, I failed to secure the originals, I have thought it advisable to publish the copies as they have reached me, with a view to facilitating my critical analysis of these fragments and at the same time guarding against permanent loss of this important material. I wish to draw the attention of research students to these fragments to enable them to trace the whole works of which these are portions. My critical analysis of these pieces will have to wait till their publication in suitable instalments. With these remarks I present to the readers the following first instalment of the Sanskrit fragment in question.

“ श्री गोविंद ॥ कवींद्र उवाच ॥ —

अथ प्रोद्दामवीरश्री शंभुराजो महाबली ॥

सभामगादिनोदेन कस्मिंश्चिदपि वानरे ॥ १ ॥

प्रहृतीना नतीगृणहन् महाबलभरालस ॥

सिंहासने विशेषेण विरराज सुरेंद्रवत् ॥ २ ॥

ततो रत्नसमावीक्ष्य नानालक्षणलक्षित ॥

उपाध्यायान् द्विजश्रेष्ठान् मात्रिकान् तान्त्रिकानपि ॥ ३ ॥

कवीश्वरान् पांडिताश्च सिद्धान् योगीश्वरानपि ॥

सामान्त्रिकान् नविकरान् प्रगान् प्रधनप्रधान् ॥ ४ ॥

* *Annals of the B. O. L. Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 287-295.

भूदूर्गाण्यनुरक्षन्ति लक्षयन्ति हितं मम ॥ ३७ ॥
 पाटणखोरकृतावासा प्रवासैककृतक्षणा ।
 मदाश्रयं संश्रयन्तो भजन्ति शिवमुत्कटं ॥ ३८ ॥
 भूय, परलखोरस्था प्रेष्यतां मग्नसंगता ।
 जैत्रयात्राः प्रकुर्वन्ति प्रोप्सुसति सभास्वलं ॥ ३९ ॥
 तथा तारलखोरस्था शूरा केचन संमताः ।
 मत्पत्तिसेनां पतितान् भाति प्राप्य क्षितौ किल ॥ ४० ॥
 मेढेखोराश्रया, प्रायः प्रकर्तुं प्रसभोद्यता ।
 मत्पत्तिसैन्यपार्श्वस्था प्रस्थाने प्रभवन्त्युत ॥ ४१ ॥
 कुडालखोरे प्रखरा, खराशुरिव रश्मिभिः ।
 अभिव्यां कामपि भुवि मध्येष्याः ख्यापयन्त्यहो ॥ ४२ ॥
 फोडेकरा, स्वर्लसीकास्तथा हेटकुडालका ।
 मण्गेरीमर्दनगडहेरेकरनिवासिनः ॥ ४३ ॥
 श्रृखलकरसंयुक्ताश्चादेरीग्रामवासिनः ।
 मत्पत्तिसेनावामांगमगीकुर्वन्ति सगरे ॥ ४४ ॥
 अन्ये वारुणखोरस्था रोहिडेखोरजै^{१२} सह ।
 रीजापुरसमावेशास्तथा सौर्देलजा अपि ॥ ४५ ॥
 पांसुपत्तनभूमिस्था वरा लीजेकरा पुनः ।
 देवलग्रामसंभूता देवलखभवा परे ॥ ४६ ॥
 संगमेश्वरभूपाला सौवडेकरजा ददं ।
 प्रपालयन्ति दक्षाग सेनाया मम सर्वदा ॥ ४७ ॥
 चिपोलणभवा केचिद्दुर्भोलीप्रभवास्तथा ।
 फुणगूस कृतावासाः धोमणैकविलासिनः ॥ ४८ ॥
 हातखोवेकरा केचिन्मत्ता केलेकरा परे ।
 सौलसीपत्तनगृहा, केचिद्वेलेकरा, सदा ॥ ४९ ॥
 पुत्रपौत्रे परियुता शूराग्न्यपदवीं गता ।
 अवन्ति मम सेनाया दक्षवामकरा अपि ॥ ५० ॥

1 Patan Valley

2 Parli.

3 प्रोहसति²

4 Tarla Vally

5 Medhe.

6 Kudal.

7 Fonda.

8 Salai

9 Maneri.

10 साखलोकर.

11 Varna.

12 Rohida.

13 Rajapur

14 Soundal.

15 Pamvas.

16 Lanja.

17 Davle.

18 Devrukh

19 Sangameshwar

20 Savarda.

21 Chiplun.

22 Dabhol

23 Fungus

24 Dhamani.

25 Hatkhamba.

26 Kele.

27 Salai

28 Vele

क्षारपत्तनिका केचिद्रार्जपत्तनिका. परे ।
 सौटेलीपुर संजातास्तथा जैतापुरीयका. ॥ ५१ ॥
 प्रभावलीयाः* प्रौढामसग्रामकृतविस्मया ॥
 गर्जन्तो दक्षिणे पार्श्वे पत्तीनां प्रभवन्त्यपर ॥ ५२ ॥
 मूरेकराः† केलवल्ली जयवल्लीसमुद्रवा ।
 मल्कापुरालया शूरा वाडीगोकर्णभूभवा ॥ ५३ ॥
 हूरिचेरीपरिस्पंदा कशेलीकाश्च केचन ।
 सुवर्णदुर्गप्रातस्था करवीरभवै. सह ॥ ५४ ॥
 मूर्धानं मम सेनाया नदंतो भैरवान् रवान् ।
 आलक्षयन्ति रक्षन्त स्वजनैरभिसवृता. ॥ ५५ ॥
 नाना नाटकनिर्माणनिपुणाः पुण्यकारिणः ।
 उदरे मम सेनाया. कर्णाटा निवसत्यलं ॥ ५६ ॥
 अलंकरिणवोत्ययं वीरान् जिष्णुपराक्रमा ।
 महाराष्ट्रोद्भवा वीरा सेनामध्ये लसंत्यमी ॥ ५७ ॥
 रत्नालंकृतकोटीरकुंडलोज्ज्वलविग्रहा ।
 सेनावामाकमाप्राप्य तिष्ठन्ति यत सिंधुजा ॥ ५८ ॥
 कुलावाचल देशस्था अचला युद्धकर्मणि ।
 अध्रांतं मम सेनाया दक्षाके विभमंत्यरं ॥ ५९ ॥
 महाकापल्यभरिता. कानडीयप्रथा गता ।
 वामकर्पूरता यान्ति मत्सैन्यस्य रणोत्सवा ॥ ६० ॥
 अरलग्रामनिलयास्तारलैकसमाश्रया ।
 सोलाकुरीया. साग्रलभवा शौलवनीयका ॥ ६१ ॥
 †इयेनग्रामभवा. केचिद् राशिवडेकरमिश्रिताः ।
 वामकुर्परतामस्मत्सेनायाः कल्पयंत्युत ॥ ६२ ॥
 प्रैसत्कटाकिन केचित्काटका पण्मुखोद्यमा. ।
 वामकुक्षिदक्षकुक्षिं पालयन्ति बलस्य मे ॥ ६३ ॥
 प्रबला प्रथिता रौनवलीग्रामसमुद्रवा ।
 मत्सैन्यमध्यस्थेनाभिद्योतयान्ति दिशो दृष्टा ॥ ६४ ॥
 कल्याणप्रातसंजाता भीमजीजनप. परे ।
 मदीयसेनानेत्रश्रीभरं विभ्रति सर्वदा ॥ ६५ ॥

1 Kharepatan.

2 Raypatan.

3 Estavh.

4 Jaitapur.

5 Kelavali

6 Haracheti.

7 Kasheli.

8 Arala.

9 Tarla.

10 Salvan.

11 Prabhanralli

शूरा is a portion of the Vishalgad hills.

11 Shengam.

12 Khanarali.

नानाभूदुर्गरचितसंश्रया क्रूरमानसा ।
 मदीयसैन्यकर्णाभां दीपयन्ति मदोज्जता ॥ ६६ ॥
 सुवेदारा नायकाश्च जुम्लेकाराः सहस्रश ।
 हवालदारा^१ प्रख्यातास्तथा सर्णोवता अपि ॥ ६७ ॥
 येकाकिन परे केपि केपि बहुसुहृद्वृता ।
 अटंति मम सैन्येऽस्मिन्नानादेशसमुद्भवा ॥ ६८ ॥
डिचोलीकुडवालस्था शिवेश्वरनिवासिन ।
आकोलेकर नामानस्तथा वांदेकरा अपि ॥ ६९ ॥
 स्वस्वविक्रमसंदीप्ता शक्रवत्प्रथिता पर ।
 मत्सेना प्रपदस्थाना द्योतति निजतेजसा ॥ ७० ॥
 वर्णदूतैसमालेखप्रगल्भधिषणोद्यमाः ।
 लेखका सन्ति मे भूयाश्चित्रगुप्तोत्तमोत्तमाः ॥ ७१ ॥
 पंडास्तांडवनिष्णाता गीष्यते समतां गता ।
 रचयन्ति श्रिय कांचित् सभासु मम पंडिता ॥ ७२ ॥
 अथर्वण इवाथर्वरहस्यज्ञानशालिन ॥
 ललन्ति ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मविद् सर्वत्र कर्मसु ॥ ७३ ॥
 चतुर्वेदविदः केचिन्निवेदी पारगामिन ॥
 द्विवेदाध्ययना. केचिदेकवेदरता परे ॥ ७४ ॥
 श्रोत्रिया. स्नातका मौनव्रतिनो जापका अपि ॥
 तापसा जटिला केचिद्वल्कलाजिनधारिणः ॥ ७५ ॥
 यायजूका योगविदो दीक्षिता अग्निहोत्रिण ॥
 अयाचितव्रता ब्रह्मचारिणश्चोर्ध्वरेतस ॥ ७६ ॥
 अधोमुखा ऊर्ध्वमुखा जीर्णपर्णाशनास्तथा ॥
 पंचाम्रिसाधना वायुभक्षका धूत्रभक्षका ॥ ७७ ॥
 तोयाहारा फलाहारा कदमूलाशना पुन ।
 नानावेषधरा केचिज्जटिला मुढिनोपि च ॥ ७८ ॥
 उल्लूखलमुखा केचिद्गोमुखा गोमयाशना. ॥
 गोमूत्रप्राशना केचिच्छाकाहारश्च केचन ॥ ७९ ॥
 कृशा अपि दिनेशाभमभाभरविलासिन ॥
 मत्कल्याणपरा सर्वे तिष्ठन्ति मम सश्र्णि ॥ ८० ॥
 मन्त्रयंत्ररहस्यज्ञास्तात्रिका मात्रिका अपि ॥
 समुदायै समुदय मत्सभासु गमन्त्यमी ॥ ८१ ॥
 पददर्शनरहस्यज्ञा. प्रशस्ता. संकथास्वपि ॥

आवेदयन्ति सततं मत्कल्याणपर विधिम् ॥ ८२ ॥
 गणिका गुणिन केचिद् गणितग्रहमंडला ॥
 वलगति दैवं बहुश सभासु मम सुव्रताः ॥ ८३ ॥
 मुनयो यतयः केचिद्वसन्नमतयः सदा ॥
 चिन्तयन्ति ममानीष्ट निरुपद्रवसधया ॥ ८४ ॥
 सिद्धा प्रसिद्धा सर्वत्र मिद्धिपारमुपागता ॥
 आशसयन्ति मस्तिद्धि समिद्धाग्निमप्रभा ॥ ८५ ॥
 केपि कामर्णवेत्तारः परकृत्यानिवारका ।
 अभिचारान्परकृतान्वारयन्ति घृतोद्यमा ॥ ८६ ॥
 व्यायामशिक्षकाः केचित्सधर्मैः समृताः सदा ॥
 कला काचिद् रगमध्ये दर्शयन्ति ममाग्रतः ॥ ८७ ॥
 गान्धर्वविद्यासारस्य वेत्तारो दर्शका अपि ॥
 गायन्ति गायना गाथां सुस्वरा वेणि(णु)लैः सह ॥ ८८ ॥
 मादृगिका पाणिवादाः लयाकल्पनपडिताः ॥
 भाडैः सह महारंगे रजयन्ति मनो मम ॥ ८९ ॥
 नानावाद्यकलाभिक्षा सदाहमतिवर्जिता ॥
 नटति विनटंशुचैर्नटाः केचन तोरणे ॥ ९० ॥
 आभंगुरावलम्बधीभराः स्तनभरैरल ॥
 नृत्यन्ति वारललता सततं मम चत्वरे ॥ ९१ ॥
 नासत्याविव सर्वासु चिकित्सासु विचक्षणाः ॥
 आवहन्ति श्रिय काचिन्मामका रोगहारिणः ॥ ९२ ॥
 पुराणा ब्राह्मणा केचित्पुराणार्थप्रकाशकाः ॥
 पारायणप्रथिता गाथा कथयति ममाग्रतः ॥ ९३ ॥
 अलकारविद् केपि विपणापतिनुद्धयः ॥
 आतोषयन्ति चाग्जालैर्मामिक मानस मुहुः ॥ ९४ ॥
 तर्कशास्त्रैः पठणात्कर्मकशत्वमुपागताः ॥
 रंजयन्ति महोद्ग्राहैः समाज मम तार्किकाः ॥ ९५ ॥
 पूर्वोत्तरां च मीमांसा पठित्वा केपि धीवराः ॥
 समर्थयन्ति सार्थेन स्वार्थान्स्वार्थपरायणा ॥ ९६ ॥
 महाभाव्यप्रवक्तारच्छेत्तारः सशयस्य च ॥
 प्रदर्शयन्ति धात्वर्थाज्ञानारूपान्ममाग्रतः ॥ ९७ ॥
 नानाकाव्यकलापकोविद् कविनायका ॥
 आभूषयन्ति परमं समाज नामकं सदा ॥ ९८ ॥
 चतुः पट्टिकलातत्तुपारगा कुलदीपकाः ॥
 क्रीडन्ति चत्वरे सधैः दर्शयन्तः क्रमात्कलाः ॥ ९९ ॥

चतुर्दशसु विद्यासु शिक्षिता दीक्षिता अपि ॥
 विवदन्ति मिथो वादैः स्वमतस्थापिनोदुरा ॥ १०० ॥
 विचित्रचित्ररचनाश्चतुराश्चटुलोक्य ॥
 चित्रकाराः केपि मम चित्रयन्ति गृहांतरम् ॥ १०१ ॥
 कारव कारुशास्त्रार्थवेत्तारश्चारुकुडला ॥
 सुरेन्द्रभवनाकाराञ्जनयति मम गृहान् ॥ १०२ ॥
 पारीक्षकाः परीक्षाभिर्बद्धीमी रत्नसंचयान् ॥
 परीक्षयन्ति सततं कोशागारे मदीयके ॥ १०३ ॥
 क्रयविक्रयमत्युच्चैः सतत सत्यवादिन ॥
 वणिग्जना प्रकुर्वन्ति मत्पुरे गतभीतय ॥ १०४ ॥
 कुरंगवाहनोदग्रवेगाः केपि तुरगमाः ॥
 द्वेषन्ति नृत्यन्त इव चत्वरे यामिकै सह ॥ १०५ ॥
 गलन्मदाः सदोदग्रा मत्ता केपि मतंगजाः ॥
 गर्जन्ति घनगंभीरमजिरेऽरातिदारुणा ॥ १०६ ॥
 रथिभिः सयुता केचिदंगणेऽमी महारथा ॥
 विभान्ति भानुप्रतिमास्तेजोभिर्मत्प्रियकरा ॥ १०७ ॥
 देवा अपि मया दत्त पितृभिः सहिताश्चिर ॥
 हव्यकन्यानि गृह्णन्ति वितन्वन्ति मम प्रियम् ॥ १०८ ॥
 इत्थं मनोरथोस्माकं शक्रेण प्रपूरितः ॥
 तथाप्येका कापि चिंता मयि जागर्ति साप्रतम् ॥ १०९ ॥
 कथं सुतो मम भवेत् प्राज्यसाम्राज्यकारक ॥
 सर्वे ब्रूत सभास्तारा प्रविचार्य स्वके हृदि ॥ ११० ॥
 कानुष्ठानस्य रचना पुरश्चर्याय का पुनः ॥
 कार्या मया वा वदत प्रधानमंत्रिभिः सह ॥ १११ ॥
 इत्थं शंभुनृप प्रगल्भविभव शक्रश्रिय भर्त्सयन् ।
 शम्भ्वाराधनसाधनोपि तुलजासर्वस्वभूत पुनः ॥
 पुत्रेष्टां हृदि संवहन्निजसभास्ताराद्विगद्योच्चकैः ॥
 तूष्णीमास सतृष्ण एव सतत कालीसमाराधने ॥ ११२ ॥
 इति कवीन्द्रप्रकाशिते इत्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवशे अष्टमायः ॥ १ ॥

The following stray stanza is found on one of the sheets of the manuscript fragments. Its exact place in the text of the poems cannot be determined at present —

१ प्रासादान्नजनयन्ति मे

“ जेता शत्रुव्रजाना निजभुजविजयी वीरवर्गस्य नेता
 भर्ता धर्मस्य लक्ष्म्या अपि समरविधावग्रगामी प्रहर्ता ।
 धर्ता धीरस्य हर्ताद्भुतदुरितवृत्तेः पालको भूसुराणां
 फत्तेसिंहो नृसिंहोऽपर इव जयतां ख्यात (एषो पृथिव्याम्) ॥ ”

9. Fragments of poems pertaining to king

Śambhu, son of Shivaji *

I published in the *Annals of the B. O. R. Institute*, Vol. XVII pp. 287-295 the first instalment of the fragments of poems pertaining to the Maratha King Sambhaji, son of Shivaji the great. The following fragments form the second instalment of these poems found in the record of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur. The circumstances under which copies of these fragments were kept at my disposal by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Editor, Peshwa Daftar, and Mr. K. N. Deshpande of Kolhapur have already been described by me in my introductory note to the first instalment of these fragments.

॥ कवीन्द्र उवाच ॥

इत्थ निगद्य धरणीपाले शिवसुते तदा
तूर्णीभूते सभास्तारा परस्परमुखेक्षणा. ॥ १ ॥
छदोगामात्यसहिता सोपाध्याया सयोगिनः ।
शिवयोगिनमित्यर्थं पुरस्कृत्य तपोनिधिम् ॥ २ ॥
अमुवन्वचनैश्चारुचमत्कृतिविधायकै ।
एकचित्ताग्रतां गत्वा तच्छृण्वन्तु मनीषिण ॥ ३ ॥

मन्त्रिण ऊचु ॥

भो राजन्यकुलश्रेष्ठ चिंतां मा कुरु सर्वथा ।
आराध्यस्व तां कालीं योगनिद्रां हरे पराम् ॥ ४ ॥
परावरैकसिद्धिना दात्रीं पात्रीं सुखस्य च ।
दमिताशेषदैतेन्द्रमडला मंगलालयां ॥ ५ ॥
तडित्कोटिप्रतीकाशतेजोभरतरंगिणीम् ।
पंचाशद्वर्णसद्रूपां सुरूपां मदविह्वलाम् ॥ ६ ॥
मदघूर्णितरक्षाक्षीं योगियोगैकगोचराम् ।
चराचरस्य निर्माणकारिणीं शक्रप्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥
शक्तीनामपि सर्वासामाद्या वंचां विशेषत ।
वेद्यां समस्त तत्रोद्यैर्मन्त्रसघप्रवर्तिनीम् ॥ ८ ॥
भवत्कुलैकवरदां दरदां दनुजेष्पल(ला ?)म् ।
ताटकयुगलीभूतभानुराकेशमडलाम् ॥ ९ ॥
सुक्तामणिप्रघटितमायूरा कीरनासिकाम् ।

* *Annals of the B. O. R. Institute*, Vol. XIX, pp 49-60.

कुचकुंभसमाकारतुहिनस्वर्णपर्वताम् ॥ १० ॥
 अशेषदोषदलिनीं सद्यां भक्तमडले ।
 करांगुलिनस्रोद्भूतनारायणदशाकृतिम् ॥ ११ ॥
 महाकालस्य रमणीं जननीमपि सर्वदा ।
 श्यामलां कोमलभुजां श्यामलास्रविलासिनीम् ॥ १२ ॥
 जितहंसगतिं शश्वत्कनकनक्रकंठणा ।
 दाडिमीधीजसदृशदन्तपक्लिद्वयोज्ज्वलाम् ॥ १३ ॥
 गूढगुल्फां कूर्मपृष्ठजयिष्णुप्रपदद्वयां ।
 पादागुलीनखज्योतिः परिनिर्जितकौमुदीं ॥ १४ ॥
 कच्छपीध्वनिगभीरगीताकर्णननिश्चला ।
 भारत्या. सत्यनिलयां महितां सहिता श्रिया ॥ १५ ॥
 सदाशिवमहाप्रेतहृत्पद्मपरिसंस्थितां ।
 करिशुंडासमाकारचारुरुयुगभासुरा ॥ १६ ॥
 सुरासुरवधूदंसेवितांग्रिसरोरुहा ।
 दक्षयज्ञप्रमथिनीं त्रिलोकीजननी परा ॥ १७ ॥
 सुस्निग्धाकुटिलात्यर्थचारुभ्रमरकावलि- ।
 मादीर्घवेणिकोद्भासिनानाभूषणभूषिता ॥ १८ ॥
 रत्नम्रैवेयका रत्नकांचीं रत्नैऋमुद्रिकां ।
 सरत्नवलया रत्नकेयूरावलिराजिता ॥ १९ ॥
 लाक्षारागाधिकचोतचरणं कविचचिका ।
 एनामाराध्य राजेन्द्र स्वाभिलाषं प्रपूय ॥ २० ॥
 इत्युक्तं शम्भुराजेन्द्रो योगिना शिवयोगिना ।
 सक्शेन* सगणेशेन मंत्रिवरैः सह ॥ २१ ॥
 सोपाध्यायैर्द्विजश्रेष्ठैः सिद्धैः कैश्चिन्मुहुर्मुहुः ।
 आनदसिंधुलहरीनिमग्नः समजायत ॥ २२ ॥
 अस्तुवीन्मनसा देवीं स्वोपासनपदं गता ।
 शिवराजात्मजः शम्भु राजराजसमः श्रिया ॥ २३ ॥

मनीषिण ऊचुः ॥

कवीन्द्र काली या प्रोक्ता सर्वशक्त्युत्तमोत्तमा ।
 तस्या स्वरूपं किं ज्ञानं किं तेजस्तद् वदस्व नः ॥ २४ ॥
 किं वीर्यं किं तपोध्यानं को मंत्रः को जपः परः ।
 का पूजा किंविध मंत्र क कालो मंत्रसाधने ॥ २५ ॥
 तथैव सिद्धिं सर्वत्र परमा शिवयोगिनः ।

* This केशव may be the केशव पुरोहित, author of Rājarama-Carita ?

स्थानजन्मभवां काचिक्कथयस्व समासत ॥ २६ ॥

गणेशभट्ट को नाम तथा केशवभट्टक ।

पुतेषां प्रकृतिं ब्रह्मन् प्रधाना वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ २७ ॥

इति पृष्ट. कविश्रेष्ठ सभ्रमेण मनीषिणि ।

रहस्यं सकलं हर्षाज्जगाद वदतां वर ॥ २८ ॥

कवीन्द्र उ० ॥

मनीषिण. सावधाना शृणुध्व चरित महत् ।

पुण्य पवित्र परम काल्या श्रोत्रसुखावहम् ॥ २९ ॥

आसीत्पुरा धरा सर्वा सलिलेन परिप्लुता ।

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मधुकैटभनामानौ दानवी साधुगर्हितौ ।

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 भैरवीं च प्र. ॥

संभाजीराजस्य जन्मातरीयवृत्तम् ।

... भक्तिभावभरितहृदयश्रीशिवभूपपदराज्ञ्या जातिस्मृति... .. अपत्यासत्यवगत जन्मान्तरीय-
वृत्तान्तजात विषयमाम

सा+ किल सोमाच.....नाथ मण्डनायमानरत्नपुरेशमहामहीपालपुत्रिका ललामा कमनीय-
 तररमणीयरूपे द्विजदेवतैकनिष्ठा कनिष्ठीकृतवामदेवादिग्रहार्पिस्वरूपे नारदादिदेवार्पिदीधित्यनुरूपे
 कस्मिंश्चिन्निजपुरोध पुत्रे प्रेमातिशयमहिम्ना पुत्रभावनां कलयांचकार । सोपि पंचगौडातर्गत द्विजा-
 ग्रणी गुणगरिमनिविष्टहृदय सहृदय सुतरा स्वसौन्दर्यसौष्टववशीकृतसुरसुदरीम् अपरामिव त्रिपुर-
 सुदरीं सुदरीं मातृभावना(भवन)यामास । एव निरतिशयानुपमेयाप्रमेयप्रेमसंभारभरितमनसो-
 स्तयो कौशल्यारामयोरिव सर्वजनमनोरम एकाहोरात्रनुटिकासहनशील सीताकुशीलबलयसमान
 शिशिरीकृतसर्वशरीरावयव कश्चिदपूर्वस्नेहकलाकलापः शुद्धान्तकरणयोरिनि प्रत्यह प्रतिफलति स्म ।
 एव स्नेहप्रस्फुरणादुत्तरोत्तरवर्धिष्णुतावलनाद्दैनंदिनदर्शनमपि नूतनामिवाकलनादुभयोभूयस्तरामति-
 दु सहवियोगसहिष्णुता समजनि । तस्यातिशयितस्नेहासंगानुपगासक्तचेतस का . कालीविषक्त...
 निगमानामप्रतिपादितोपासनामार्गप्रविष्टस्य पुरोहितपुत्रस्य अस्यामेव जन्म गृह्णीया राजधर्माननुभवि-
 त् इति भूय कर्ममर्ममपादयित्री जन्मान्तरीयशर्मसंपत्तिदात्री शोभनगात्री वर्मवशसंभवनिमित्तविधि-
 निमित्तैक--पात्री नानाविधपुण्यक्षेत्रपुरश्चर्या परंपरासुवामनासत्पात्री वासना सत्पात्री सहैव प्रच-
 चार । तमन्यजन्मान ब्राह्मणमनुधमनेकप्राकारिपुण्यक्षेत्रं प्रचलनशीलोपि दु शील. सुशीलनामा
 प्रमाप्रिया कश्चित् सदाशिवगण (तपोविघ्नमाचरामीति निर्वधप्रार्थनापुर सर प्रमारितशुद्धानलि)

श्रृङ्गाररसासक्तयो. नेत्रसंज्ञामात्रबलमत्रलब्ध्याविभूतवैरिभारं प्रकटीकुर्वन् बहु प्रत्यहपुञ्जयै पीड-
यति स्म । सोऽपि तमतिवंचयित्वैव कतिपयैरहोभिर्दशनमात्रेणैवानैकविधपापीजनसंघातसंभारमभ-
रितजगदुद्धारतापत्रयोन्मूलकान्वयीकृतजगद्वाधनामधेयदारुणस्वरूपिपुरुषोत्तमसंनिधावुत्पत्तिपुण्य-
तरपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे पुण्यनक्षत्रे सुरलोकसोपानपरंपरासु सुखेनैव पदप्रक्षेपणं निधिक्षेपणमिव स्वयं
स्वीचकार । तद्वाचाश्रवणमात्रनिरमितसर्वांगवृत्तिनिश्चेष्टपुत्रिकेव रानपुत्रिका तत्पुत्रपरिप्रेक्ष्य सुख लेलि-
हानिव तापाभिभूता त्रिगुणात्मिकां तनुं द्वित्रिदिनैरेव तत्याज । इत्थं प्रदर्शितकथाकलापवृत्त्या शिव-
रात्राभिधा प्राप्तस्य सुशीलनाम्न सयीतिनामनिविष्टाया हैहयवशाभू (पग)पतेरात्मजाया लभ्य-
संवध सुसिद्ध एव । अकुरितवैरीभावविभावितत करणतया शभुसंज्ञां प्रविष्टस्य पुरोहितसूने
किंचित् चक्रिमभावे विभाव्यते पितु पुत्रस्य च । स्व स्ववासनानुबंधानुबद्धसंवद्धा अपि त्रया
त्रिगुणात्मका शरीरसंपदं प्रापुरेवं सूचनामात्रप्रदर्शनं विहितमत्र ग्रन्थविस्तरभयाद्विस्तरेणालं ॥

श्रीशंभोचरणानुसेवनरतौ तौ वपती सर्वदा

यत्तत्काल उपागतान्वहुविधान्संपूजयन्तौ सुरान् ।

प्रेमोद्रेकमुपेयुषोरनुदिन स्वल्पैरहोभिस्तयो.

शंभु प्रादुरभूत्सुतः शुभतर स्वामीकुमारप्रनः ॥ ५० ॥

राज्यं वृद्धिसुपागत बहुतरं शौर्यं शिवेनाचितं

कीर्तिर्दिक्षु प्रसरिता प्रत्यक्षभूचद्रिका ।

शभोरद्भुतविक्रमस्य विशदं श्रीविक्रमाकर्णुग

विज्ञात सकलैर्जनैरजनितन्माहात्म्यमन्यादश ॥ ५१ ॥

॥ कवीन्द्र उवाच ॥

इत्थं काल्या मया प्रोक्तो यंत्रस्य च मनोरपि ।

महत्त्वमथ वक्ष्यामि परम शिवयोगिन ॥ १ ॥

उत्तरस्या पुण्यतमा राडा नाम महापुरी ।

नाना तपोवनाकीर्णा नानामुनिसमाकुला ॥ २ ॥

धनेकवीर्यनिचितः महापुण्यफलप्रदै ।

इसाकारोद्यानकीर्णैश्चक्रवाकोपशोभितै ॥ ३ ॥

हसै. परमहसैश्च वालाखिल्यैः समावृता ।

गतद्वेपरभिवृता सिंहाव्याघ्रमृगादिभिः ॥ ४ ॥

गतदंशा गतक्रोधजनसंघलभासुरा ।

कुलस्त्रीभिः परिगृता नानापुष्पलताकुला ॥ ५ ॥

सुमनानलिक्रात्रातिजपाचपक्रपाटलैः ।

करजोरातोक्कुदक्रणिकारै स्वयंपुङ्कैः ॥ ६ ॥

पुंनागकेतकी सिंटी चकुलैर्भूमिचंपकैः ।

सेवेतिर्कारकजलजसरोजैः कंदुकैरपि ॥ ७ ॥

आत्रैरान्नातकेर्निशे निजुलैर्वज्रैरपि ।

कदम्ब. कर्णिकारैश्च वटाश्वचातुर्नरपि ॥ ८ ॥

करकैवदरीवृन्दैः करीरैश्चारुपीलुकैः ।
 वधुलैश्चदनै रक्तचंदनै कृष्टचदनै ॥ ९ ॥
 वानस्पत्यैरनेकैश्च वनस्पतिगणैरपि ।
 पलाशैर्नव्यलतिका कलितैर्ललितैरलं ॥ १० ॥
 वचर्ति त्रिपथा तीरे मंदमारुतबीजिते ।
 तस्यां महासिद्धिधर सर्वसिद्धजनप्रिय ॥ ११ ॥
 तेजसा भानुसदृशश्चतुर्मुख इवापर ।
 वेदान्वदन्वावदूकः सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारग ॥ १२ ॥
 ... हागमरहस्यज्ञः प्रज्ञावान्प्राज्ञसंमतः ।
 जनयन्दोषमरणं जनानां स्वीयदर्शनै ॥ १३ ॥
 ब्रह्माश्रियावृतो दाता शांतः क्षान्तो धृतव्रतः ।
 ऊर्ध्वरेता ब्रह्मचर्यचर्यावानार्थसमत ॥ १४ ॥
 आर्याभक्ताव्यक्तमतिर्मन्त्रयन्प्रवर्तकः ।
 महासर्वोत्तिगंभीरस्तत्त्ववित्तत्त्वदर्शकः ॥ १५ ॥
 अध्यात्मवक्ता साधूनां समतः सुजनप्रिय ।
 भट्टांगयोगकुशलो नि सगो निर्मम कृती ॥ १६ ॥
 निर्वाणपदवीमिच्छन्वद्वपन्नासन सुधी ।
 चतु षष्टिकलाभिज्ञो ज्ञानविज्ञानपारगः ॥ १७ ॥
 शुक्लांबरधर शुक्लचदनेनानुलेपितः ।
 शिवयोः सामरस्यानि चित्ते समनुचिन्तयन् ॥ १८ ॥
 कृपाकटाक्षविभवैरुद्धरन् शिष्यमडलः ।
 अनुग्रहाय जगतां विग्रही बत शंकर ॥ १९ ॥
 भ्रमन्गुरुस्वरूपेण जगत्यां सत्यसश्रयः ।
 सत्यव्रतः सत्यतपाः सत्यवाक्यपरायणः ॥ २० ॥
 अनतकुलधर्माणां मर्मज्ञश्चारुकर्मकृत् ।
 जाटिलः शंकर इव समदृष्टिर्मुकुदवत् ॥ २१ ॥
 वशिष्टवत् शिष्टतमो विशिष्टचरितेष्टः ।
 भ्रष्टदुर्जनसंल्लापविवर्जनपरो यमी ॥ २२ ॥
 निरजनो निराकांक्ष सत्पक्षो भग्नलक्षणः ।
 अक्षोभ्यहृदयोमायाविमुक्तो विगतालसः ॥ २३ ॥
 हरन्सुदूरे विषयान् विश्वामित्र इवापरः ।
 मित्रामित्रौ समौ पश्यन्पदस्य सिद्धसमतः ॥ २४ ॥
 प्रातः प्रशस्य प्रथितनामा कामप्रपूरकः ।
 साधकानां समुदितात्ताद सादविनाशनः ॥ २५ ॥
 अनंतपुण्यफलदचरितव्रतमडलः ।
 अत्रेर्विचित्र चरितं वहन्विगतसाध्वसः ॥ २६ ॥

पिशंगचारुविलसजटाजूटो दडाशय ।
 मितवक्ता मिताहारो मितहासो मितोचम ॥ २७ ॥
 मितश्रमिर्मिताकंक्षी मितवृद् मितवोषभृद् ।
 मिताकल्पचमत्कारो मितविस्मयहर्षुल ॥ २८ ॥
 किंचिद्भ्रूभगविक्षेपपरिप्लिष्टो हितावलिः ।
 अहंवारहितोऽसाह्यी बाललीलां समावहन् ॥ २९ ॥
 वैराग्ययुक्तोपि महाभाग्यसौभाग्यदायक ।
 दुर्भाग्यदमनोपायोदृढमार्गाद्वनिता हरन् ॥ ३० ॥
 कृतार्थं सिद्धिकामाना प्रकामनियमोज्ज्वल ।
 कश्चित्सिद्ध श्रीः स.... सर्वेषां श्रुतिमागतः ॥ ३१ ॥
 महानिर्वाणपदवीं मृगयन्निजलीलया ।
 भासीदासीमधरणीवलये लयपडितः ॥ ३२ ॥
 शिवयोगी नाम कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणश्चित्तपावनः ।
 निशम्य तस्य सिद्धस्य चरितं परमाद्भुतं ॥ ३३ ॥
 हित्वा कोकण देश तं देशं समुपस्थितः ।
 गुरुत्वेनाशु तं सिद्धं वरयामास सुव्रतः ॥ ३४ ॥
 शिष्यत्वेनाथ सोऽप्येनमग्रहीद्रम्यविग्रहे ।
 शुभग्रहैः परिचृते कस्मिंश्चिदपि वासरे ॥ ३५ ॥
 उक्ते मासि त्रिथौ स्वर्तौ प्रवृत्तेश्चोत्तरायणे ।
 कृत्वाकुरार्पणं वास्तुपूजनं च यथाविधि ॥ ३६ ॥
 हुत्वाशौ ब्राह्मणां नत्वा स्तुत्वा स्वामीष्टदेवतां ।
 ध्यात्वा स्मृत्वा स्वपितरावाचार्यकुलकामिनीः ॥ ३७ ॥
 नदिनीप्रसूता गावः कुलार्द्रान्तरगाधिपान् ।
 विधीन्ससागरान्कल्पवृक्षावदनदीचयान् ॥ ३८ ॥
 अभिवन्द्य गणेशान् वन्दुं यो गिनीगणं ।
 नरेशान्पुण्यचरितानाकीर्त्यसुरनायकान् ॥ ३९ ॥
 अष्टपट्कं विशोऽप्याशु ससिद्धः सिद्धसमवः ।
 पुण्याहं वाचयित्वोच्चैर्वायवोपपुर सर ॥ ४० ॥
 कौशेयेन नवीनेन बंधयित्वा विलोचने ।
 शिवस्य स्वीयशिष्यस्य दीक्षापट्कं विधाय च ॥ ४१ ॥
 तीव्रप्रेमयुक्तं दीक्षां सत्तमा पर्यकल्पयत् ।
 पूर्वान्नायमयोच्चार्य पूर्वकुंभैः मुशोभनैः ॥ ४२ ॥
 स्तनपयामास विधिवद्देवतामंत्रमुच्चरन् ।
 ससिद्धः सर्वमिद्वानां प्रथमो गोरखो यथा ॥ ४३ ॥

आदृत्य दक्षिणान्कुम्भान्दक्षिणाम्नायमुत्तमं ।
 स्नपयन्कथयामास दत्तात्रेय इवापर ॥ ४४ ॥
 पाश्चिमान्कलशान्गृह्य पश्चिमाम्नायजान्मनून् ।
 अभिषिचन्नकथयत् तथा रैवतको यथा ॥ ४५ ॥
 नेति नेति नेतीति यत्परं श्रुतयो वदन् ।
 अनुत्तरं तथाम्नायं शिववस्त्रिजगाद स ॥ ४६ ॥
 पूर्णदीक्षां विधायेत्यमागमोक्तेन वर्त्मना ।
 सांप्रदायं स्वकं प्रोच्य दृष्टिवधं विसृज्य च ॥ ४७ ॥
 निजक्रमागतं कंचिद्गुरुक्रममथादिशत् ।
 येन शिष्यस्य परमा सिद्धिर्भवति सर्वत ॥ ४८ ॥
 आद्यंतद्वारनाथार्णं गृहीत्वातिमनोरमम् ।
 शिष्यस्य कल्पयामास ससिद्धोनामसंभ्रमात् ॥ ४९ ॥
 तेन दीक्षाप्रभावेण सशिवो ब्राह्मणाग्रणी ।
 योगीति ख्यातिमगमस्सिद्धिपारमुपागत ॥ ५० ॥
 शिवयोगी ततस्तत्र बहुकालं गुरोर्गृहे ।
 तोषयामास विधिवत्तस्य प्रियतमान्परान् ॥ ५१ ॥
 प्रगल्भोदारसेवाभिराराध्यगुरुमादरात् ।
 अलभच्छिवयोगी सः सिद्धिकामपि सुव्रत ॥ ५२ ॥
 प्रसन्नचेता सततं स्तुवन्ध्यायन्जपन्नमन् ।
 सिद्धस्य चरितं किञ्चिच्छिवयोगी पपाठ स ॥ ५३ ॥
 हृत्थ्य भक्तिभरं ज्ञात्वा ससिद्धः शिवयोगिनः ।
 आज्ञापयामास चिरं ब्रह्मचर्यं व्रतं चर ॥ ५४ ॥
 पाणिग्रहं क्वचिदपि मा कुरुष्व व्रतेच्छया ।
 शिष्यत्वेन नराधीश योगिन्मा वृणु सर्वथा ॥ ५५ ॥
 योगी सुसिद्धसिद्धस्य वचो निशम्य .
 विद्योतद्ब्रह्मवर्चाः परिचरिततपा भावयन्मंत्रजातं
 पश्यन्क्षेत्राणि नानारसभरभरितः पर्यटन्तीर्थपक्ती ।
 प्रेम्णा शृंगारपुर्यां व्यरचदथमठीं कोऽग्रे क्रूरदेशे
 वस्तु योगी प्रसिद्धस्तदनुनुतगुण सन्निवास चकार ॥
 मदाज्ञया त्रिपुरजित् तव पुत्रो भविष्यति ।
 भूमारस्यापि सहार करिष्यति न सशय ॥ ७५ ॥
 तारयिष्यति भूदेवान् दुःसपकादवद्रित ।
 मदीयिष्यति दुष्टेयान् निर्जरान्स्थापयिष्यति ॥ ७६ ॥

Poems pertaining to Sambhaji

रक्षयिष्यति धेनूनां गणान्यवनहस्ततः ।
श्रीकृष्ण इव तेजस्वी वधूरानन्दयिष्यति ॥ ७७ ॥
संस्थापयिष्यति मुदा धर्मं शर्मसमन्वितं
आह्लादयिष्यति धनैः क्रूरकौकणजाक्षरान् ॥ ७८ ॥
धुरंधरान् राजकृत्ये नवीनान्कल्पयिष्यति ।
स्वपूजाया ब्रताभक्तिं धरिष्यति न संशयः ॥ ७९ ॥
सौरान् शाक्तान् गाणपत्यान् शैवानावर्जयिष्यति ।
अर्चनं बालकृष्णस्य प्रेम्णा परिकरिष्यति ॥ ८० ॥
ताम्रैः साम महामायो बहुकालं चरिष्यति ।
आचरिष्यति सौम्यं सत्केकछन्नाधिपत्यतां ॥ ८१ ॥
निरंतरं वनेतीव पापार्थंमटिष्यति ।
स्वमतेनैव सर्वाणि कार्याण्याकल्पयिष्यति ॥ ८२ ॥
महानन्दभराविष्टः सदैव विहरिष्यति ।
वारयिष्यत्यरिष्टानि दूरादेव गतस्पृहः ॥ ८३ ॥
अतः सुतार्थं राजेन्द्रं चिन्ता मा कुरु कर्हिचित् ।

10. The Date of the Kāyasthaparabhūdharma- dars'a of Nīlakanṭha Sūri and Identification of its Author in contemporary Records *

Aufrecht ¹ mentions some works about the Parabhūs ² among which he mentions a work called *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* by one Nīlakanṭha Sūri,³ of

* *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIII, Part II, April-June 1939.

1 *Cata. Catalo I*, p. 324 — “परभूजातिनिर्णय, on the origin of a caste called परभू — BP 299. परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि—Kh. 76, and by वावदेव अटले—Kh. 76.” II, 72 — “परभूप्रकरण on the origin and tenets of the परभू caste descended from the Kāyasthas written under king Śāhurāj, son of Śambhurāj of the Bhonsla family. The anonymous author refers to Bābdeva Āṭale (q. v.) L. 4199 ”

The B. O R Institute (Lumaye Collection acquired in 1938) contains a MS called परभूप्रकरण (folios 16) In the Govt. MSS Library there is another MS of परभूप्रकरण No 567 of 1883-84 acquired by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar from the Maratha country.

2 *Vide* article on प्रभु in the महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश (by S V. Ketkar), Vol. XVII, (1925) प - 242-248 The total population of this Kāyastha Prabhu caste in the whole of India may come to about 30,000 The Mahārāstra historian Rajwade (*Khaṇḍa* VI) records in all 9 *grāmaṇyas* about the Prabhu caste. Dates of some of these disputes — Śaka 1391 (A. D 1469) , Śaka 1591 (A. D 1669) , Śaka 1597 (A. D 1675) , Śaka 1669 (A. D 1747) ; Śaka 1714 (A. D 1792) , Śaka 1745 (A. D. 1823)

3 The adopted son of Nīlakanṭha Sūri Thatte was married to the daughter (Tai) of Sardār Bālājī Nārāyana Nātū in A. D. 1818. (*Vide* p. 123 of *Thatte Kula-vrttānta*, Poona, 1936.) This Sardār Bālājīpant Nātū was associated with the Kāyastha Prabhu dispute of Śaka 1745 (=A. D 1823). It is possible to suppose that Nīlakanṭha Sūri composed his कयस्थ-परभूधर्मादर्श in connection with the dispute of 1823 A. D to vindicate his relative's (Bālājīpant's) position against the Kāyastha Prabhus. If this inference is correct the *date of कयस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श must lie between A. D. 1823 and A. D 1827*, the date of the MS of this work.

which he records only one Ms viz, "Kh. 76." Prof. P. V. Kane also mentions the work "परभूप्रकरण by Nilakanṭha Sūri" in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* ¹ along with other works regarding the Parabhu caste and the Kāyasthas ². I am not aware if Aufrecht or Prof. Kane had examined an actual MS of Nilakanṭha Sūri's work, which they have designated "परभूप्रकरण." Recently I came across a MS ³ of Nilakanṭha Sūri's work called "कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श" I have no doubt that this work is identical with the परभूप्रकरण of Nilakanṭha Sūri mentioned by Aufrecht and Kane. I propose, therefore, to describe it and present some data gathered from it with a view to studying and recording some historical information gathered from contemporary available records ⁴ about the date of the author and his literary activity.

1 Vol. 1 (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930), p. 577 — "परभूजातिनिर्णय. परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि. परभूप्रकरण by वाचदेव अटले.

परभूप्रकरण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's *Notices*, X, p. 296.) About 1740-49 A. D. during the reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji. When Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय was राजलेखक and a favourite of Shahu, refers to वाचदेव अटले as a hypocrite and a Karhādā Brahmin."

2 *Ibid*, p. 528 — Works about Kāyasthas: — कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप or -प्रमथ by विश्वेश्वर alias गंगाभट्ट composed about 1647 A. D.

कायस्थपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर — Printed at Bombay, 1873, same as कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप. Baroda Oriental Institute MS is dated 1727 (1670-71 A. D.). Ujjain MS. No. 1097 is dated A. D. 1743 (Vide List of 1936, p. 30). कायस्थक्षत्रियत्वमुद्मद-नकुठार by लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित. कायस्थतत्त्व, कायस्थनिर्णय, कायस्थविचार, कायस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर.

The Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. I.) has a MS of कायस्थनिर्णय (No. 542 of 1883-84).

3 In the Limaye Collection of MSS acquired by the B. O. R. Institute in 1936 from Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of Ashte (Dist. Satara), a second copy of this work is also found and is dated A. D. 1827. It is copied by जयदेव son of सत्यो अनन्त लिमये as the following colophon shows.— *Folio 12* — "शके १७८७ सर्वज्ञित् सवत्सरे लिनयोपाख्यदाख्य सुनुना जयदेवाख्येन लिखितोऽयं कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श ॥"

4 Some of these records are found in the *History of the Thatte Family (Thatte Kula vrttānta)* by P. V. Thatte and V. N. Thatte, Poona, 1936 — Vide pp. 6-25, which contain historical documents about the Thatte

The Limaye MS of कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श (folios 8) contains the following references to Persons, Places, Works etc.—

आर्यावर्त्त, 7	कमलाकर, 1, 2, 4, 7
उद्योत (=दिनकरोद्योत), 7	काम्बोज, 4, काम्बोजा, 4
(Begun by दिनकर and finished by गाणभट्ट)	कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, 1, 7 कायस्थपरभूधर्मा, ¹ 1

family dated, A. D. 1718, 1735, 1743, 1748, 1767, 1769, 1770, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1787, 1795, 1796, 1798, 1807, 1808, 1813, 1816, 1818, 1830, 1831, 1838, 1858. In all 36 documents are recorded. The author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श is identical with नीलकण्ठ विनायक यथे or यत्ते mentioned in some of the above mentioned documents. His descendants are still living in Poona (*Vide* pp. 52-53). A brief genealogy of Nīlakanṭha Sūri may be recorded here —

केशव—गोपाळ—विश्वनाथ—नारायण—विनायक—नीलकण्ठशास्त्री

(A D. 1775 (A D (Died 1834 A. D)
. 1783) 1772)

In Document No. 9 dated 20th October 1775 our author's grandfather is referred to as follows —

“ वे रा नारायेणभट विन विस्वनाथभट ईविन गोपाळभट उपनाम यथे गोत्र शाण्डिल्य सूत्र अस्वलायेन जोतिषी व उपाध्ये मौजे बिबली ता हवेली हमजाबाद ता अजनवेल हाली वास्तव्य कसवे पुणे ”.

Our author's father विनायकभट was a कडणीस of शिरेपरगणा in the Karnāṭak (Document No 10 dated A D. 1777). He is mentioned in Document No. 30 of A. D. 1816. The marriage of our author's adopted son is referred to in Document No 31 of A. D. 1818 (from Bālāji Nārāyaṇa Nātū to Mount Stuart Elphinstone) Document No. 32 dated 17th January 1830 records the grant (of village कोलघर to our author “ नीलकण्ठशास्त्री विनायकभट यथे ”) from Raghoji Āngre. Document No. 33 dated 7th January 1831 records a grant of land to our author. Document No 34 dated 26th July 1838 records a grant of land to our author's son नारायणशास्त्री नीलकण्ठशास्त्री यथे. This नारायणशास्त्री was the eldest son of नीलकण्ठ's cousin मोरशास्त्री. नारायण was adopted as son in A. D. 1815 by नीलकण्ठ as he had no issue (p. 123 of *Thatte History*).

1 *Vide* article on कायस्थ in the महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश, Vol X, (क-३८९ to ३९२) The term कायस्थ is found in a Malwa inscription of A. D. 738-39 In an inscription of A. D. 987, the term कायस्थ is used. In the Sivalik

कायस्थप्रदीप, 6	चन्द्रसेन 2, 3, 5, 7
कायस्थोत्पत्ति, 2	चान्द्रसेनीया, 4, 6
कार्तवीर्य, 1	चान्द्रसेनीया कायस्थाः, 6
काश्यपगोत्र, 4, 6	चित्रगुप्त, 2, 4, 5, 6
गागामट ¹ , 6, 7, गागामट्टीय, 4	चैत्रगुप्तकायस्थाः, ³ 5
गान्धारी 4,	चैत्रगुप्ता., 6
गुह, 1	

Stone pillar inscription at Delhi of A. D. 1184 the term कायस्थ has been used as a caste-name.

1 Viśveśvara alias गागामट of Benares composed a work called शिवाक्षेदय, (Vide Peterson's *Cata. of Ulwar MSS*, pp. 37-38) by order of Shivaji (" तस्याज्ञया छत्रपत्रे. शिवस्य ") Vide pp. 223-225 of the शिवचरित्रप्रदीप (B I S Mandal, Poona, 1925) Aufrecht (C. C. II, 139) states that Gāgābhata composed in Śaka 1603 (A. D. 1681) a work called समयनय on *dharma* for Shivaji's son Sambhāji and a MS of this work is at Florence (Italy). He officiated at the coronation of Shivaji in A. D. 1674 MS No. 9670 in Baroda Ori Institute shows that Gāgābhata composed his कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप in Śaka 1599 = A. D. 1677 (Vide Kane. *His. of Dh. I.* p 712). The Marathi Bakhar शिवदिग्विजय (Baroda, 1895) describes गागामट्ट as महा-समर्थब्राह्मण, तेजोराशी, तपोराशी, अपरसूर्य, साक्षात् वेदो नारायण, महाविद्वान् (p. 410). Vide p. 311 of मययुगानं चरित्रकोश (1937).

2 According to *Sahyādrī Khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* the Cāndraseniya Kāyasthas originated from a Kṣatriya king चन्द्रसेन, who was killed by Paraśurāma. The widow of चन्द्रसेन who was pregnant at the death of her husband went to the hermitage of दारुण्य sage. Paraśurāma agreed not to molest her on condition that this would-be son of चन्द्रसेन should not behave as a Kṣatriya. The sage agreed to this condition and the son born of the widow of चन्द्रसेन was brought up by the sage and he pursued the profession of a scribe. The descendants of this son of चन्द्रसेन came to be called Cāndraseniya Kāyasthas.

3 खण्जे बालल चिटणीस who accompanied Rājārāma Chatrapati to Jinji in A. D. 1690 was a चैत्रगुप्तकायस्थ. Keśava Paṇḍita refers to him as follows in verse 22 of Sarga IV of his राजारामचरित.—

“ खण्जेवराळमुखाय कायस्थाश्चित्रगुप्ताः ।

चन्द्रसेनान्वयाधान्ये श्रीदारुण्यहृतगोपनाः ॥ २२ ॥ ”

विनायक (father of नीलकण्ठ थत्थे,) 1, 7

विष्णुपुराण 3, 6

विष्णुस्मृति, 4, 6

वेतव्रत, 1

वेदव्यास, 7

वेदेहक, 2

शक, 4, शकाः, 4

शतप्रश्नकल्पलता¹ by माधव, 7

शूद्रकमलाकर², 6

शूद्राचारशिरोमणि³, 1

शौनक, 1

सखोपत लिमये⁴ अष्टेकर, (the original owner of the MS of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श,) 7

1 In a MS of *Siddhāntavijaya* composed at Benares for Rājā Pratāpasimha of Satara about A. D. 1839 I find a quotation from a work शतप्रश्नकल्पलता by माधव dealing with शालिवाहनशतोत्पत्ति (36 verses). It begins on folio 64 of the B. O. R. I. Copy (No. 3 of 1937-38) as follows —

“यथा माधवकृत शतप्रश्ने—

शालिवाहनस्य उत्पत्तिं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।

पुरा क्षेत्रे प्रतिष्ठाने विप्रोऽभूत्कौशिकान्वये ॥ १ ॥ ”

The quotation ends—

“अङ्कसर्पेन्दुरामाख्ये (३१७९) जाते युगचतुर्थके ।

शालिवाहनसंज्ञश्च प्रतिष्ठाने तु राजभाक् ॥ ३६ ॥

इति माधवकृत शतप्रश्नकल्पलतायां शालिवाहनशतोत्पत्ति प्रश्नश्चत्वारिंश ॥ ४० ॥ ”

Another quotation of 23 verses occurs on folios 68-69.

2 Ed. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1895. The *S'ūdrakamalākara* by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa is a standard treatise on the duties of Śūdras. In the *S'ūdrakamalākara* the author refers to his *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in A. D. 1612 (20th February) Gāgābhaṭṭa (1674 A. D.) was the nephew of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (*Vide* p. 437 of Kane's *History of Dharma*. Vol I, 1930).

3 Possibly identical with a work of this name by कृष्णशेप, son of तृसिंहशेप composed by order of पिलाजीनृप son of केशवदास, B. O. R. I. MS No. 50 of 1872-73 of this work was copied at Cambay on 4th March, 1591. It is mentioned in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (Between 1520-1590 A. D.). *Vide* p. 641 of Kane *History of Dharma*, I).

4 Sakhopant Ananta Limaye (A. D. 1800 to about A. D. 1840) was a contemporary of our author Nilakanṭha Vināyaka Thatthe (died A. D. 1834). The MS of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श belonging to Sakhopant is dated A. D. 1827. In a letter in Modī script (*Limaye Family Papers* No. 3 with me) dated A. D. 1827 our author is referred to as “वेदशास्त्रसंपन्ननीलकण्ठशास्त्री यये”. Sakhopant had a passion for collecting and preserving many Sanskrit MSS as is evident from the number of about 450 MSS preserved and

(Continued on the next page)

सगर, 4

सगरचरित, 7

सद्मादिरसण्ड, 1

सहदेव, 7

सिधु, 2, सिधुवीर, 1

The Limaye MS of the *Kāyastha-parabhū-dharmādarśa* analysed above begins as follows —

स्कान्दे (रेणुकामाहात्म्ये,) 3

स्कान्द (पुराण), 7

हरिवंश, 4, 6

शके १७४८=A. D. 1827, the date of

the copy of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः

॥ अयं कायस्थपरभूधर्माः ॥

प्रणम्य परमात्मानं नीलकण्ठो विचक्षण ।

यत्थोपनामकं सूर्यविनायकतनुद्भव ॥ १ ॥

न्यम्बकादिगुरुब्रह्मा सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगान् ।

सता मन प्रमोदाय दुर्मदोन्मादशान्तये ॥ २ ॥

भगवद्भासतात्पर्यं तदुक्त्यै (व) प्रकाशयन् ।

कायस्थपरभूयोग्यधर्मादर्शं करोम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥

तत्रैकं कायस्थः सकलनिबन्धादिग्रन्थेषु प्रदर्शित. ” etc.

The foregoing introductory verses clearly indicate (1) the correct title of the work (which is “ कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श ” and not परभूधर्माकरण) as also (2) the name and surname of our author (viz. नीलकण्ठ विनायक यत्थे) The guru

(Continued from the previous page)

added to by his descendants. Many of these MSS were got copied by Sakhopant between A. D 1800 and 1840. Sakhopant being a lover of Sanskrit learning must have been in close contact with our author Nīlakanṭha Vināyaka Thatthe —

According to *Thatte Family History*, Nīlakanṭha S'āstri was sent to Benares for education by the celebrated *nyāyādhiśa* of the Peshwa period, Rāmaśāstri Prabhūṇe, who died in 1769 A. D. We have elsewhere stated A. D. 1780 or so as the probable date of Nīlakanṭha's birth. If the above statement in the *Thatte History* is correct we may have to push back this probable birth date of Nīlakanṭha, say up to A. D. 1775 or so to enable us to presume that he was about 14 years of age at the time of Rāma Śāstri's death in A. D. 1789. Rāma Śāstri held the office of *Nyāyādhiśa* for the last time for 12 years between A. D. 1777 and 1789 at the request of Nana Fadnis. It is possible to suppose that Nīlakanṭha may have been sent to Benares at Peshwa's expense between A. D. 1785 and 1789.

of our author mentioned in verse 2 above is त्र्यम्बक¹ who remains to be identified.

The Ms ends as follows —

“इति थत्थोपनामक विनायकसूनुनीलकण्ठसूरिणा विरचितकायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्शः समाप्तः ॥

श्री गजाननसुप्रसन्न शके ॥ १७४८ सर्वजिज्ञामसंवत्सरे भाद्रपदकृष्णाष्टम्यां गुरुवासरे थत्थोपनामकविनायकसूनुनीलकण्ठसूनुना (सूरिणा) विरचितकायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्शः समाप्तः ॥

इदं पुस्तकं सखोपन्त उपनामक लिमये अष्टेकर स्वार्थं परोपकारार्थं लिखितं ॥ श्री सांभ ॥”

The MS described above was copied in A. D. 1827 for Sakhopant Limaye of Ashte as stated in the colophon reproduced above Sakhopant's son Jayadeva prepared another copy of this very work in A. D. 1827 which also we find in the Limaye collection

Nilakanṭha Vināyaka Thatte, the author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, represented by 2 MSS in the Limaye collection has already been identified by me with Nilakanṭha Śāstri Vināyaka Śāstri Thatte mentioned in the *Thatte Family History* (vide footnotes to the early portion) The chronology of the author from his grandfather to his son may be briefly recorded below.—

A. D.	Reference.
1775-1783	Nārāyaṇa, the grandfather of our author living.
C. 1775	Probable date of birth of our author (= N)
1777	N's father Vināyaka was acting as Phadnīs.
Before 1789	Rāma Śāstri Prabhūṇe sends N to Benares for education.
1815	N adopts as son his nephew Nārāyaṇa, the son of his brother Mor Śāstri
1818	Marriage of N's adopted son with the daughter of Sardar Bālājupant Nātu.
1827	Date of the MSS of N's work कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श
„	N mentioned in a letter addressed to Sakhopant Limaye.
1830	Grant of a village to N.
1831	Grant of some land to N.
1834	Death of N.
1838	Grant of land to N's son Nārāyaṇa.

The occasion when the *Kāyastha-parabhū-dharmādarśa* may have been composed by the author is furnished by the *Parabhū-grāmaṇya* of

1 In the *Thatte History* (p 122) one त्र्यम्बकशास्त्री शास्त्रिणाम (मीमांसक) has been mentioned as the disciple of our author. The statement needs to be verified.

A. D. 1823, with which Sardar Bālājipant Nātu¹ was closely associated. It would be reasonable to presume that Bālājipant should find in his relative Nīlakanṭha Śāstri² a protagonist of the position taken by him against the Prabhus³. If this presumption is correct the date of the present work would lie between A. D. 1823 and 1827, the year in which two MSS of the work were got copied by the members of the Limaye family.

1 Vide *Peshwa Daftar Selections* No. 42, ed. by G. S. Sardesai (1934), pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 54, 83, 85, 86, 101, 107. On p. 25 we have a reference to the request made by Bālājipant to Pratap Singh, the Raja of Satara (17th July 1819) that the Raja should show to Grant Duff all papers to help him to write an authentic history of the Marathas.

2 *Ibid*, p. 22—Pratap Singh records in his Diary under date 25th July, 1819, some conversation between one नीलकण्ठशास्त्री and Grant Duff on Hindu Customs (“नीलकण्ठशास्त्री व प्रोट याचे बोलणे शास्त्राचे हिंदचे चालीचे”). I am inclined to identify this नीलकण्ठशास्त्री with the author of the *अवस्थपरभूषणदर्श*, as we know from the *Thatte Family History* that our author was given as an assistant to the judge at the Adālat Court at Satara by Bālājipant Nātu. On pp. 10-41 we have a proclamation about the Viśhrambag Palace Pāṭha-Śālā dated 21st Sept. 1819, providing for instruction in व्याकरण and other Śūtras. I wonder if our author, who was proficient in grammar had anything to do with this Pāṭha-Śālā. This point is worth investigating.

3 See Rajawade *Sources of Maratha History*, Khandā, VI, p. 523.

II Upaniṣadbrahmayogin and Haṭhayogapradīpikā *

The *Muktikopaniṣad*¹ appears to be the only *Upaniṣad*, which enumerates the 108 *Upaniṣads*. This number includes 20 *Upaniṣads*,² which treat of yoga and a study of which is essential for all students of the history of the *yogaśāstra*. The only commentary by a single author on the 108 *Upaniṣads* is that of *Upaniṣadbrahmayogin*, published for the first time by the Adyar Library. This commentator closely follows the commentary of Śaṅkarācārya for such of these *Upaniṣads* as are commented on by the great Advaitin. His *advaitic* bias is further illustrated by the following explanation of the term हठ (in the expression हठयोग) in commenting on the 45th verse³ of the *Yogatattvopaniṣad*, which describes a Yogī, who has attained *siddhi* or perfection, as follows —

“ नासौ मरणमाप्नोति पुनर्योगबलेन तु ।

हठेन मृत एवासौ मृतस्य मरण कुतः ॥ ४५ ॥ ”

The commentator explains this verse as under —

“ मरणादे देहनिष्ठत्वेन योगिनो देहातीतत्वात्, “ न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चित् ” इति श्रुते । ब्रह्मातिरेकेण देहादिक नास्तीति बोध एव हठ, हठेन सम्यग्ज्ञानेन मृत एवासौ देह. ”

We wonder if this equation “ हठ = सम्यग्ज्ञान ” would be acceptable to the students of Sanskrit philology as also of the *Yogaśāstra*.

* *Yoga*, (*Bombay*), Vol IV, 35-37

1 *The Sāmānyā Vedānta Upaniṣhads*, Pub by Adyar Library, 1921 pp. 349-50 Verses 30 to 39 enumerate 108 *Upaniṣads* and this list is concluded by the remark —

“ एवमष्टोत्तरशत भावनात्रयनाशम् । ज्ञानवैराग्यद पुसा वासनात्रयनाशनम् ”

2 These 20 *Upaniṣads* have been published by the Adyar Library (1920) in a separate volume called *The Yoga Upaniṣhads* with the commentary of the *Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin*, containing the following *Upaniṣhads* —

(1) अद्वयतारकोपनिषत्, (2) अमृतनादोपनिषत्, (3) अमृतविन्दूपनिषत्, (4) क्षुरिकोपनिषत्, (5) तेजोविन्दूपनिषत्, (6) त्रिशिखित्राक्षणोपनिषत्, (7) दर्शनोपनिषत्, (8) ध्यानविन्दूपनिषत्, (9) नादविन्दूपनिषत्, (10) पञ्चवतत्रयोपनिषत्, (11) ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषत्, (12) मण्डल-त्राक्षणोपनिषत्, (13) महावाक्योपनिषत्, (14) योगकुण्डल्युपनिषत्, (15) योगचूडामण्यु-पनिषत्, (16) योगतत्त्वोपनिषत्, (17) योगशिखोपनिषत्, (18) वराहोपनिषत्, (19) शाण्डिल्योपनिषत्, (20) हसोपनिषत्

3 *Yoga Upaniṣhads*, Adyar, 1920, p 400

Our commentator quotes from a treatise on the *Haṭhayoga* and calls it by the name *हठतन्त्र* in the following extract from his commentary on verse 73 of the *Brahma vidyopaniṣad* ¹ :—

“यद्वा-गोशब्देन जिह्येच्यते । तथा च हठतन्त्रे आम्नायते—“गोमांसं भक्षयेत्” इत्यंशविवरणे “गोशब्देनेरिता जिह्वा” इत्युक्तत्वात् ”

In the above extract the commentator refers to two consecutive verses in a work on the *Haṭhayoga* (*हठतन्त्रे*). We have been able to identify these two verses in the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma. They are identical with verses 47 and 48 of the 3rd Chapter (तृतीयोपदेश) of this treatise ² and read as follows --

“गोमांसं भक्षयेन्नित्यं पिवेदमरवारुणीम् ।

कुलीनं तमहं मन्ये इतरे कुलघातका ॥ ४७ ॥

गोशब्देनोदिता* जिह्वा तद्वेशो हि तालुनि ।

गोमांसभक्षणं तत्तु महापातकनाशम् ॥ ४८ ॥ ”

(* Upaniṣadbrahmayogin uses the variant ईरिता for उदिता)

The manner in which two consecutive verses from the *हठतन्त्र* have been referred to by our commentator and their exact identification in the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* in the same order appears to indicate that the *हठतन्त्र* referred to by our commentator is identical with the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma, a standard work on the *Haṭhayoga*. This conclusion of ours finds further corroboration in another reference to a ‘हठयोगतन्त्र’ which is found in our commentator’s explanation of verse 128 of the *Yogatattvopaniṣad* ³. This verse reads as follows.—

“अमरीं यः पिवेन्नित्यं नस्य कुर्वन् दिने दिने ॥

वज्रोलीमभ्यसेन्नित्यममरोलीति कथ्यते ॥ १२८ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with the following verse in the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* ⁴ (verse 97 of तृतीयोपदेश)—

“अमरीं यः पिवेन्नित्यं नस्यं कुर्वन्दिने दिने ॥

वज्रोलीमभ्यसेन्नित्यममरोलीति कथ्यते ॥ ९७ ॥ ”

The only difference in the two verses quoted above is of the reading “नित्यम्” for “सम्यक्सा” but this is negligible. This identity of the two verses, one in the *Yogatattvopaniṣad* and the other in the *Haṭhayoga-*

1. *Yoga Upaniṣads*, Adyar, pp. 264-65

2. *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, (T. P. H. Adyar) 1933, pp. 111-115.

3. *Yoga Upaniṣads*.

4. T. P. H. Edition, p. 141.

12. Date of Sabhāvinoda of Daivajña Dāmodara, A Protégé of King Śrīnivāsa Malla of Nepal *

Between A.D. 1657 and 1685

Aufrecht records the following works of Dāmodara Daivajña in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 151 —

“ दामोदर दैवज्ञ — षट्पञ्चाशिकाटीका quoted in the जातकपद्धति of
केशव — Bhr, p 30
सभाविनोद Oudh X, 26.”

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report* for 1882-83 (Bombay, 1884), p. 30, describes a MS of *Jātakapaddhati* of Keśava of Nandigrāma and states that this Keśava wrote a commentary on this work. In this commentary he quotes दामोदर.

According to S. B. Dīksita (*History of Indian Astronomy*, Poona, 1896, p. 258) Keśava II (Father of Ganeśa Daivajña) lived about Śaka 1418 (= A. D. 1496). This Keśava of A. D. 1496 is the author of the जातकपद्धति, which is mentioned in a work called *Muhūrtamārtanḍa* composed in Śaka 1493 (= A. D. 1571) It appears from these facts that दामोदर mentioned by Keśava is earlier than A.D. 1500.

Dāmodara Daivajña, the author of the *Sabhāvinoda* is quite different from his namesake, quoted by Keśava in his *Jātakapaddhati* as I propose to show in this paper.

The only MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, is the following.—

Page 696 — “ सभाविनोद on proper conduct in public assemblies by
Daivajña Dāmodara, Oudh X, 26 ”

The “Oudh” MS mentioned by Aufrecht is not accessible to me. My friend Mr B. L. Partudkar of Phulkalas (P. O Purna, N.S.R.) paid a visit to the B. O. R. Institute and handed over to me a MS of *Sabhāvinoda* of Daivajña Dāmodara. This work appears to be identical with that mentioned by Aufrecht in the above entry.

I give below a critical analysis of this MS as the MS is rare and unknown to Sanskrit scholars. It begins as follows.—

* Prācyavāpl, Vol. IX, Jan.-Dec. 1952, pp. 1-10.

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

वंदे श्रीवृन्दिराजं तं दारिताखिलपातकम् ।

पावतीद्वयानन्द कमलादत्तमोदकम् ॥ १ ॥

पद्मासना पद्मदलायताक्षी वरामये या दधती कराम्याम् ।

सा भारती मे द्वयाराविन्दे पादारविन्दं विदधातु पूर्णम् ॥ २ ॥

विराजतेऽसौ भुवि सूर्यवंशो यस्मिन्बभूवुः प्रबला नृपालाः ।

मन्वादिका धर्मपराश्च यस्मिन्बभूव रामः क्षितिपालको यः ॥ ३ ॥

क्षीराब्धितुल्ये मनुजामरेज्ये महेंद्रमल्लो ब्रह्मवर्धितेशः ।

यदीयमुद्रास्तु महेंद्रमल्लिनाम्ना प्रसिद्धा धरणीतलेऽस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥

वत्स्यान्वये श्रीशिवासिंहनामा दिगंतकीर्तिः प्रथितो नृपालः ।

तस्मिन् नृपाले न बभूव लोको नेपालचक्रे कमलाविहीनः ॥ ५ ॥

वक्ष्ये यथार्थं धरणीतलेऽस्मिन्नेपालचक्राश्रदि चापरा भूः ।

संत्यक्तसर्वोऽपि च सर्वगोऽपि शर्वोऽपि यस्मिन् रमते सुखेन ॥ ६ ॥

यत उक्तं रसवरगिण्याम् ॥

रुद्रक्रोधाद्गन्धदेहस्तु कामः प्रेतो भूत्वा पावतीमाविशत्स ।

कामाविष्टो प्रेक्ष्य शर्वो भवानीं गाढं बाढं पीडयन्तीं स्वमंगाम् ॥ ७ ॥

हिमाचलात्किंचिदिवावतीर्य नेपालखण्डे वुमुजे कुमारीम् ।

सहस्रवर्षाणि ततोऽन्नपातो बभूव देव्याः प्रथमस्ततोऽभूत् ॥ ८ ॥

यलाढ्यशुल्वं रमणीप्रियाणामानन्दं रोगविनाशहेतुः ।

रसायनादावपि योजनीयमन्यद्भवेज्जाढ्यविदाहकारि ॥ ९ ॥

हिरण्यभृंगाः खलु यत्र संति देवालयश्चित्रविचित्ररूपाः ।

गणेशदुर्गारविविष्णुरुद्रदेवालयाः सति पदे पदे च ॥ १० ॥

साक्षाद्गममहाविद्याः सांगोपागा सम्यक्काः ।

उपास्यन्ते साधकेन्द्रैर्नेपालात् क्रिमतः परम् ॥ ११ ॥

जयति जयति काली यद्यसादात्कपाली

भवति सकलहारी...खदत्ततालि ।

जयति जयति भीमो द्रौपदीदत्तकामः ।

मरुलदुरितहारी भक्तकार्यककारी ॥ १२ ॥

मत्स्येन्द्रनाथो रमते च यत्र संत्यज्य सर्वान्त्रिपयान्कृतार्थः ।

गुह्येश्वरी यत्र विराजते स्म वरप्रदात्री खलु साधकानाम् ॥ १३ ॥

साक्षात्पुनर्विषयं तुलजा च विराजते ।

सगोश्वरश्च गरुडो नीलकण्ठो जलस्थितः ॥ १४ ॥

भोरगदाहस्य उपोन्नियैव हित्वा सुतीर्यान्त्यमलोदकानि ।

नूनं प्रयातास्त्रिदशा समस्ता नेपालदेशे त्विति मे वितर्कं ॥ १५ ॥
 न यत्र चाराः पिशुनास्तुरुका पाखडिनो धूतरताश्च गोष्ठाः ।
 न यत्र जायानर — वियोग सौराजते (?) स्वर्गपदप्रमेयः ॥ १६ ॥
 तस्मिन्देशे शैलरुद्ध-मार्गं ललितपत्तनम् ।
 दृष्ट्वा धर्मोऽवसत्तत्र कलिकालमियैव किम् ॥ १७ ॥
 तत्पत्तनमहीपालः शिवसिंहो नृपोऽभवत् ।
 तस्यात्मजोऽभूत्सकलगुणसघस्य शेवधि ॥ १८ ॥
 हरिहरसिंह इति प्रथितोऽभूद्धरिहरभक्तजनेषु वरेण्य ।
 हरिहररूप उत स्वपरेषां हरिहरतागतसूर्यरुचिर्यः ॥ १९ ॥
 तस्यात्मजः सिद्धनृसिंहनामाऽनवद्यविद्यानिपुणोऽतिशूरः ॥
 धर्माननेकान् स धनेन साध्यान् कृत्वा स्वराज्यं च ददौ सुताय ॥ २० ॥
 हित्वा स्वराज्यं च स तीर्थयात्रां कर्तुं प्रतस्थे मुनिवेषधारी-
 नेपालदेशं सकलं तत श्रीनिवासमल्लः खलु शास्ति सन्त्यक् ॥ २१ ॥
 संप्रीणिता येन गजैश्च विप्रा गोभिर्धनैरश्ववरैश्च वस्त्रैः ।
 संप्रीणितोऽहं खलु तेन राज्ञा करोमि तस्यैव सभाविनोदम् ॥ २२ ॥
 तस्मिन्निबंधं क्रम एष उक्त आद्यो भवेद्ग्रंथमुखाधिकारः ।
 अन्योक्तयो दूषणभूषणानि स्याद्राजनीतिश्च रसाधिकारः ॥ २३ ॥
 सामुद्रिक ज्योतिषं वैद्यशास्त्रं स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रं च ततश्च योगः ।
 सहस्रपद्यैर्ग्रंथितो निबधो यत्कठगं स्यात्स सभासु वक्ता ॥ २४ ॥”

The MS ends as follows —

“श्रीमन्महाराज-निवासमल्ल-सभाविनोदाय कृतो मयायम् ।
 सभाविनोदोऽन्यसभासु लोका पठंति पाठित्ययशो लभंतु ॥ १०० ॥
 श्रीदुडिराजस्य पदारविंदं मन्मानसे तिष्ठतु दीर्घदोषे ।
 कृपाकटाक्षेण च यस्य पूर्णो रामापि रामेव गृहं प्रयाति ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज-सिद्धनरसिंहसुतनेपालललितपत्तनेश्वर श्रीनिवासमल्ल-सभाविनोदे
 दैवज्ञदामोदरविरचिते योगाधिकारो दशमः पफाण ॥ वृत्तश्चायं सभाविनोदः ॥ ग्रंथसंख्या १९३० ॥

सेके सभासे एकनसाठ १७५९ हेमलवी नाम संवत्सरे उत्तरायणे शिशिरऋतौ फाल्गुण-
 कृष्ण-प्रतिपत्तिथौ इंदुवासरे तृतीयप्रहरे लिखितम् ।

श्लोकानां षोडशशतैर्युक्तोऽयं ग्रंथनायकः ।

प्रकर्णैर्दशभिश्चापि कृतो दामोदरेण हि ॥

सभाविनोदनामिति प्रसिद्धो जगतीतले ।

लिखितं पंचभिर्विग्रैरनताद्यैर्महात्मभिः ॥

पुस्तकमिदं रामचंद्रभट्टपौराणिकस्य सागवीकरोपनाम्नरास्ते (?) श्रीरस्तु ॥”

References to works and authors mentioned in the MS. of *Sabhāvinoda* are as follows:—

रसतरंगिण्याम्—fol. 1; शिवः—fol. 2; नारायण—fol. 2, हलायुधः—fol. 2; भामहः—fol. 2; चाणक्यः—fol. 3, त्रिविक्रमभट्टः—fol. 3, 4 (त्रिविक्रमः); विद्वज्जः—fol. 3; सुचंद्र—fol. 3; चाणभट्टः—fol. 3, शार्ङ्गधर—fol. 3, 4; श्रीधरदेवः—fol. 3; जयदेव—fol. 3, मूर्तहरिः—fol. 4; राघवचैतन्यः—fol. 4; भारविक्रमः—fol. 4; मेरीभाकार—fol. 4. कृष्णमिश्रः—fol. 4; सम—fol. 4;

fol. 8 — Colophon of 1st Chapter called “ग्रंथसुखाधिकार”

fol. 13 — Colophon of 2nd Chapter called “मन्योक्ति”

fol. 19 — Colophon of 3rd Chapter called “दूषणभूषण”

fol. 24 — Colophon of 4th Chapter called “राजनीति”

fol. 30 — Colophon of 5th Chapter called “श्रृंगार”

fol. 36 — Colophon of 6th Chapter called “सामुद्रिक”

fol. 40 — Colophon of 7th Chapter called “ज्योतिषशास्त्र”

fol. 47 — Colophon of 8th Chapter called “वैद्यक”

fol. 53 — Colophon of 9th Chapter called “धर्मशास्त्र”

fol. 57 — Colophon of 10th Chapter called “योग”

The titles of the different chapters mentioned in the above colophons are practically identical with the contents of the work given by the author in verses 23 and 24 at the beginning of the work.

From the extracts quoted above we get the following information about the author and his patron, for whom apparently the work *Sabhāvinoda* was composed —

- (1) The author bows to god *Dhruṇḍirāja* and goddess *Bhārati* (verses 1 and 2).
- (2) King *Mahendramalla* of Nepal was born in *Sūryavaṃśa*. His *mudrā* (seal) was known as “*Mahendramalli*” (verses 3 and 4).
- (3) In his line was born *Śivasimha* (verses 5, 6).
- (4) Description of Nepal and its temples of gods and goddesses viz. *Ganeśa*, *Durgā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Kālī*, *Bhīma*, *Matsyendranātha*, *Guhyeśvari*, *Paśupati*, *Tulajā*, *Garuda*, *Nilakantha*, etc. (verses 7-14).
- (5) The author thinks that the gods of different places have gathered in Nepal and made it their home as it were out of fear of *Emperor Aurungzeb* (verse 15).
- (6) In Nepal there is a town called “*Lalitapattana*”. Its King was *Śivasimha*. His son was *Harikharasimha*. His son was *Siddhant-simha* (verses 16-20).

- (7) *Siddhanarasimha* resigned the Kingship in favour of his son *Śrīnivāsamalla* and went on a pilgrimage as an ascetic (verse 21).
- (8) *Śrīnivāsamalla* pleased the Brahmins by his donations of wealth, elephants, cows, garments and horses. The author composed the *Sabhāvinoda* by the order of this King who pleased him (by his patronage) (verse 22).
- (9) The work deals with ग्रंथसुखाधिकारः, अन्योक्तयः, दूषणभूषणानि, राजनीतिः, रसः, सामुद्रिक, ज्योतिषं, वैद्यशास्त्र, धर्मशास्त्रं, and योग in 1,000 stanzas. Any one mastering this work can shine as a speaker in any assembly (verses 23-24).
- (10) The author states that he composed this work *Sabhāvinoda* for the entertainment of the court of King *Śrīnivāsamalla*. It would be useful to all persons who want to shine as pandits in other assemblies (verse 100).
- (11) *Daivajña Dāmodara* composed this work for the Court of King *Śrīnivāsamalla*, the son of *Siddhanarasimha*, who ruled at *Lalitapattana* in Nepal, (Colophon).
- (12) The MS was copied in Śaka 1759 (= A.D. 1837)—(Colophon).
- (13) The work consists of 1600 ślokas and 10 prakaraṇas. Its author is *Dāmodara*. It was copied by five Brahmins, including Ananta. It belongs to *Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa*, *Paurāṇika*, *Sāṅgavikar*. (Colophon).

As the MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* before us is dated A.D. 1837, we have to search for the chronology of its author and his royal patron *Śrīnivāsamalla* ruling at *Lalitapattana* in Nepal before A.D. 1800 or so. The reference to "*Aurangaśāha*" or Aurangzeb by our author in verse 15 gives us the earlier limit to his date. Emperor Aurangzeb came to the throne in A.D. 1659 and died in A.D. 1707. We may, therefore, fix A.D. 1659 as the earlier limit to the date of the *Sabhāvinoda* and its author *Daivajña Dāmodara*.

Some of the Inscriptions from Nepal published by Bhagavanlal Indraji in Vol IX of *Indian Antiquary* (1880) help us to identify King *Śrīnivāsamalla*, the patron of *Daivajña Dāmodara*. I note below the pertinent inscriptions and the data furnished by them pertaining to the Kings of Nepal mentioned in the *Sabhāvinoda* :—

Page 192—Inscription No 22 of *Śrīnivāsa*, dated Nepal *Samvat* 792 (= A.D. 1672).

Pages 192-193—Inscription No. 23 of Princess *Yogamati*, dated *Nepal Samvat* 843 (= A.D. 1723). This inscription gives us the following genealogy of the Kings who ruled at *Lalitapattana* in Nepal:—

सिद्धिचरित मह	[King of Lalitapattana became an ascetic and went to dwell on the banks of Gaṅgā (Benares)].
↓ Son श्रीनिवास	(ruling in A.D. 1672).
↓ Son योगनरेन्द्र मह	(went with his 21 wives to <i>Dolaparvata</i> and died in the temple of Viṣṇu).
↓ Daughter योगमती	(Consecrated in A.D. 1723 a temple of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in memory of her son <i>Lokaprakāśa</i>).
↓ Son लोकप्रकाश	(died before his mother <i>Yogamati</i>).

Verses 3 and 4 of this inscription read as follows:—

“आसीत्सिद्धिचरितमहचरितः सूर्यान्वये कीर्तिमान्
नेपाले ललितामिधाननगरे पौरान् सदा पालयन् ।
गोपीनाथपदाराविंदमधुपो वाचस्पतिर्द्विवर
संसार जलबुद्बुदोपममसौ हिस्वा गतो जाह्नवीम् ॥ ३ ॥¹
तस्याध्वजो भूपतिरेव जातः श्रीश्रीनिवासोऽवतु श्रीनिवासः ।
वापानलो वैरिमहीरुहाणां स राजतेऽतीव सुधाकरेव ॥ ४ ॥”

Pages 184-187—Inscription No 17 of *Siddhinṛsiṃha* of Lalitapattana, dated *Nepal Samvat* 757 (= A.D. 1637).

This inscription gives the following genealogy of the Kings of *Lalitapattana* in Nepal which may be linked up with that given in the inscription of A.D. 1723.—

¹ The last two lines of verse 3 of the Inscription of A.D. 1723 corroborate the following lines in verses 20 and 21 of Sabbāvinoda.—

“ तस्याध्वजः सिद्धिचरितमहचरितमधुपुणोऽतिशूर
धर्माननेकान् स धनेन साध्यान् कृत्वा स्वराज्यं च ददौ सुताय ।
हिस्वा स्वराज्यं च स तीर्थयात्रां कर्तुं प्रतस्थे सुनिवेपधारी ॥ ”

हरिसिंह

महेन्द्रमल्ल

शिवसिंह

हरिहरसिंह (married to लालमती)

सिद्धिचतुसिंह (ruling in A D 1637).

Inscription No 18 of Pratāpamalla of Kāṭmāṇḍu, dated *Nepal Samvat 769* (= A. D. 1649) states that he defeated the army of *Siddhinrsimha* and took his fortress (verse 5). Evidently *Siddhinrsimha* was ruling at the fort of Lalitapattana before A. D. 1649. His son *Śrinivāsa* was ruling in A. D 1672 (Inscription No. 22) Possibly *Siddhinrsimha* abandoned the Kingdom in favour of his son sometime between A. D. 1654 and A. D. 1661 as will be seen from the following dated coins of these Kings of Lalitapur noted by E. H. Walsh in his article on *Coinage of Nepal* (J. R. A. S. London, 1908, pp. 732-737).-

Date of Coin	Name of King	Remarks
A.D. 1631	<i>Siddhi Nrsimha.</i>	—N.S. 751.
" 1654	—Do.—	—N S. 774.
" 1661	<i>Śrinivāsa Malla.</i>	—N.S. 781.
" 1666	—Do.—	—N S 786.
" 1688	<i>Yoga Narendra Malla</i>	—N.S. 808
" 1686	—Do.—	—N S. 806.
" 1685	—Do —	—N S 805.
" 1687	—Do.—	—N.S 807.
" 1700	—Do —	—N S. 820.
" 1706	<i>Indra Malla.</i>	—N.S. 826.
" 1707	<i>Yogamatī and her son, Loka Prakāśa Malla.</i>	—N S. 827.

I am concerned in this paper with the dates for *Śrinivāsamalla*, the patron of Daivajña Dāmodara, and his father *Siddhinrsimha* as also his son *Yoga Narendra Malla*. I, therefore, put together below the dates for these rulers given in their coins and inscriptions :—

<i>Siddhinrsmha</i>	...	...	A D. 1631 (Coin). A D. 1637 (inscription). A D. 1649 (inscription). A D. 1654 (Coin)
<i>S'rīnivāsa Malla</i>	...	...	A D. 1661 (Coin) A D. 1666 (Coin) A D. 1672 (inscription).
<i>Yoga Narendra Malla</i>	...	...	A D. 1685 (Coin). A D. 1686 (Coin) A D. 1687 (Coin) A D. 1688 (Coin) A.D. 1700 (Coin)

The regnal period of *Śrīnivāsa Malla* must lie between A.D. 1654, the last date for his father and A.D. 1685, the first date for his son in the above list of dates. Consequently the date of the *Sabbhāvinoda* which was composed for *Śrīnivāsamalla*, while he was ruling, must lie between A.D. 1654 and 1685.

In the article on "Some considerations on the History of Nepal" by Bhagavānlāl Indrap, ed. by Buhler (Reprint from *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, 1885) we get the following information about the Kings of the Lalitapattana Line —

Pages 40-41	<i>Harīharasimha</i>	(Younger son of <i>Śivasimha</i> of Kāntipur).
	Son	
	<i>Śiddhinrsmha</i>	(—built a palace at Lalitapura A.D. 1620. —dedicated a temple to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in A.D. 1637. —made a water course in A.D. 1647. —became an ascetic in A.D. 1657).
	Son	
	<i>Śrīnivāsamalla</i>	(—Reigned from A.D. 1657 —had a war with Pratāpamalla of Kāṭmandu (A.D. 1658-1662). —His latest inscription is dated A.D. 1701).
	Son	
	<i>Yoganarendramalla</i>	(lost his son and became an ascetic).

According to the above information King *Siddhinṛsiṃha* became an ascetic in A.D. 1657 and his son *Śrīnivāsamalla* ruled from A.D. 1657. In view of this date the regnal period of *Śrīnivāsamalla* lies between A.D. 1657 and A.D. 1685, the first date of the coin of *Yoganarendramalla*. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the *Sabhāvinoda* was composed for *Śrīnivāsamalla* between A.D. 1657 and A.D. 1685¹

The rare MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* analysed in this paper is dated *Śaka 1759* (= A.D. 1837). At the end of the MS there is a contemporary endorsement that it belonged to "*Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa Purāṇika Saṅgavīkar.*" My friend Shri B. L. Partudkar procured this MS from the present descendants of *Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa* now living at *Partuḍ* (Dist. Parabhani) in Hyderabad territory. The genealogy of this family as supplied to me by Shri Partudkar is given in the *Appendix*.

The *Purāṇik* family of *Partuḍ* originally belongs to the village *Joḍ-Saṅgavi* on the banks of the river *Pūrṇā*. *Rāmacandra Purāṇik* of this family was the first to migrate to *Partuḍ* and settle there. Both *Rāmacandra* and his son *Pānduranga* became *Sanyāsins* at the close of their lives and assumed the names *Rāmānanda* and *Īśvarānanda* respectively. They died at *Partuḍ*, where their *Samādhis* or tombs exist at present together with their busts made of brass. *Rāmacandra Purāṇik* was possibly a contemporary of Raja *Candulāl*, the then minister of the Nizam State. Shri *Nāgūdeva*, the present descendant of this family has in his possession a complete MS of the *Mahābhārata* copied in the life-time of *Rāmacandra Purāṇik*. This family has been enjoying the privilege of working as *Purāṇiks* in the *Nṛsiṃha* temple at *Partuḍ* in a hereditary manner. The family was also the owner of about 150 acres of land given as *inām* to it for its service as *Purāṇiks* in the *Nṛsiṃha* temple together with a cash annual allowance of Rs 150/- from Government. The family enjoyed these privileges up to the time of *Bālābhanu*, the father of Shri *Nāgūdeva*. At present the land referred to above is with the above family but Government charges land revenue for it. Mr. B. L. Partudkar had an occasion to examine about 75 bundles of records of this family besides about 300 MSS in its possession. These MSS were copied between *Śaka 1602* (= A.D. 1680) and *Śaka 1802* (= A.D. 1880) a period of 200 years. In some of these MSS the village *Partuḍ* is mentioned as "*Praharāda-*

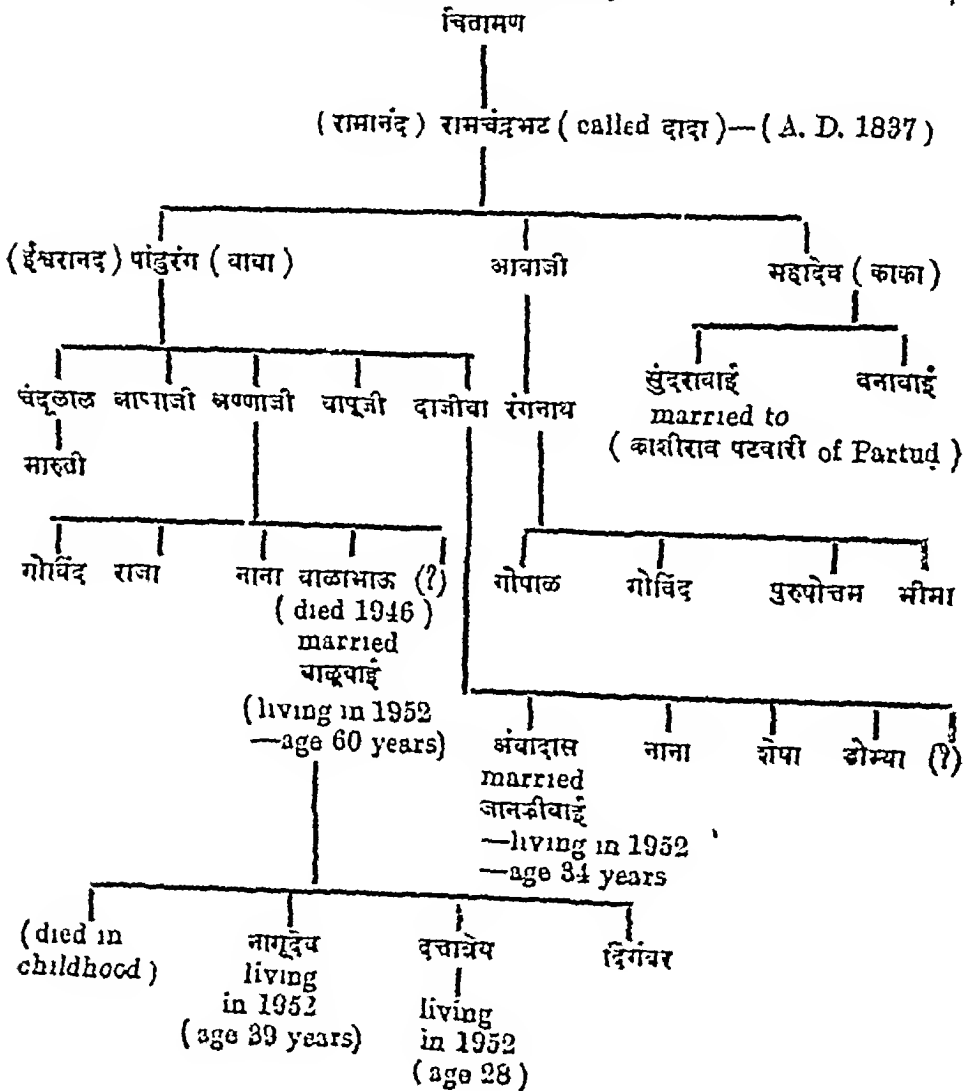
1 The latest inscription of 1701 A.D. mentioned by Bhagvanlal Indraji for *Śrīnivāsamalla* needs to be reconciled with the coin of *Yoganarendra* dated A.D. 1685. Perhaps *Śrīnivāsamalla* abandoned the kingdom in favour of *Yoganarendramalla* sometime before A.D. 1685 and continued to live as far as A.D. 1701, the date of his inscription mentioned by Bhagvanlal Indraji.

pūr." Rāmacandra Purāṇik calls himself "Sāṅgavikar". He composed a Marathi prose commentary on *Saṭpañcāśkū*, a copy of which is in the possession of Shri B. L. Partudkar. The genealogy given above is prepared on the basis of records in the possession of the Purāṇik family.

I am thankful to Shri B. L. Partudkar and to Shri Nāgūdeva Purāṇik for keeping at my disposal the MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* and for supplying information about the *Purāṇik* family of Partud.

APPENDIX

*Genealogy of the Purāṇik Family of Partud (Dist. Parbhani)
in Hyderabad territory*



13. Harikavi alias Bhānubhatta, a Court-Poet

Of King Sambhāji And His Works : *

(1) Śambhurājacarita composed in A. D. 1685; (2) Haihayendracarita and its commentary, (3) Subhāṣitahārāvalī

I

The only Ms of *Śambhurāja-carita* by Harikavi recorded by Aufrecht ¹ is " Report XIII " which is the same as No 191 of 1875-76 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms is fragmentary and incomplete but is historically very important as it is a poem of a very high order dealing with the life of the Maratha King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom in the Deccan. This Ms was acquired by Dr. Buhler in 1875 ² from Surat. Unlike *Rājārāmacarita* ³ of *Keśavapaṇḍita* which bristles with the names of historical personages and events, the *Śambhurāja-carita*, judging from the fragment before us, is unfortunately lacking in historical details to such an extent that even the identity of Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem has got to be proved. In fact my friend Mr V. S. Bendre, who first studied this Ms in 1931 and whose zest for historical knowledge about King Sambhāji has led him to the establishment of an institution called *Sambhājī Caritra Kāryālaya* with the sole purpose of gathering materials for a historical biography of King Sambhāji, was disappointed in a further study of this fragment and consequently the fragment remains unnoticed since its acquisition in 1875 by Dr Buhler.

I shall now proceed to show that King Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem, is none other than the renowned Sambhāji, son and successor of Shivāji the Great. This is clear from the following extracts culled at random from the fragment before us —

Shivāji is referred to in the following extracts —

folio 3 — " इहासीमासीर रुचिरतनुभाजा त्रिभुवने ।

शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुणः ।

.. . . etc. — सर्ववन्ति ॥ २४ ॥

* *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona Vol XVI, pp 262-291*

1 *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, 637, 756

2 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss*, p. 13.

3 *Keśavapaṇḍita's Rājārāmacarita or Journey to Jinji* edited by V. S. Bendre, 1931

(B. L. S. Mandal, Poona, Granthamālā No. 36)

„ — “वदन्त्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते” ॥ २५ ॥

The parentage of Sambhāji from Shīvāji is clear from the following —

folio 4 — “प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा-

महः पुजः पद्मादिव परमसौरभ्यनिवहः ॥

सुधांशुक्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुर्नन्दनवना- ।

दिवाय सभूतः किल शिवनृपाच्छभुनृपतिः” ॥ २९ ॥

„ — “गुणानामाधारास्त्रिभुवनभयानां शिवभवो ।

यदेकोयं शंभुर्विलसति महीपालतिलकः ।

..... चमत्कारचतुरैः ॥ ३५ ॥”

folio 79 — “रणांगणविसर्पिण. शिवभवस्य भूपेशितुः etc.”

folio 80 — “शिवोद्भवनृपोद्भूतो”

We get a glimpse of Sambhāji's youthful person in the following verse —

folio 44 — “अस्मिन्काले कमलनयनः कोटिकटपङ्कातो ।

नानाकल्पद्युतिप्रयुवपुमं तत्तमातगगामी ॥

शंभुर्ललासचिवसहितो मंदहासोल्लसच्छ्रीः ।

शृंगाराख्यो रस इव चरन् राजमार्गं विवेश ॥”

He is referred to as शंभु, शंभुनृपति and शंभुराज throughout the Ms.

The poem consisted of 12 sargas or cantos and it is really a great loss to literature that only about 2-3 cantos are available to us in the present fragment. Mr. Bendre has not been successful in his attempts to get a complete copy of the work. The fourth canto deals with the poetic description of Sambhāji's marriage in quite a classical style and is concluded with the following colophon —

folio 53 — “इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहारिकविविरचिते

विजयाके श्रीशंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये श्रीशंभुराजविवाहवर्णनो नाम

चतुर्थः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥”

In the 4th canto Sambhūrajā's bride is referred to as चंपा in the following verses:—

folio 49 — “चंपानाम्नी रतिमिव जगन्मोहिनीं स्वां कुमारी ।

तथानैपीदृतिविलुलित सूर्यजातेव कोपि ॥ ९८ ॥”

folio 49 — “चपाशपाद्युतिवतिविरत्कारिणी प्रादुरासीत् ॥ ९९ ॥”

„ — “चपावत्या सदनमासिलं शोचिषा शोभयन्त्याः”

The following verse mentions the bestowal of चंपा in marriage to शंभु by her father “तपनजादास” who is mentioned in verse 98 quoted above as “सूर्यजासेवक”:-

folio 53 — “पश्चात्तां समलकृतां तपनजादासो ददौ शंभवे ।
 भूपायाशु सदक्षिण सुविधिना हर्षाश्रुमालाधरः ॥
 तंत्रज्ञोयश्चतुष्कमनयत्तौ दपतीसुदरौ ।
 लाजाहोमविधिं विधातुमुदितौ ज्योत्स्नाशशांकाविव ॥ १३४ ॥”
 ,, — “सख्यं सासपदीनमाहुरपि ये etc ॥ १३५ ॥”

The nuptials were celebrated at a city called variously as ‘मिहिरनगर’ or ‘तपननगर’ ‘तपनपत्तन’ सत्यादास was the अधिपति of the city and it was at his request that King शंभु proceeded to that city for his nuptials —

folio 42 — “सत्यादासोप्यथ नृपतये भूरिदायापि दत्त्वा ।
 तारं हार वलययुगलं नि प्रवाणिद्वयं च ॥
 आवासायं मिहिरनगराम्यतरे त ययाचे ।
 प्रौढप्रेमासकलपृतनासंयुत सौधराजौ ॥ ३३ ॥”

People of the town gathered to have a look at King शंभु:—

folio 42 — “जग्मुर्वासोरुचिरतनव सर्वत प्रेक्षणार्थं ।
 लोका सर्वे नरपतिमणे सघश पण्यवीथ्या ॥
 संविभ्राणाश्चपलवपुष पाणिभिर्वालकान्स्वान् ।
 आधावतस्त्वरितममितश्वासमुत्फुल्लनेत्रा ॥ ३५ ॥”

And ladies were not behind men in their curiosity to have a peep at the King Their hurried movements are described in the patent classical style. The following verse will serve as an example —

folio 44 — “भूपेक्षार्थं त्वरितगमनप्रोद्यता विद्युताभा- ।
 शक्ता गंतुं चपलचरणन्यासमौत्सुक्यनुच्चा ॥
 काचित्स्थूलस्वनयुगभराक्रान्तिसस्तब्धचारं ।
 सारगाक्षी पृथुलपृथुल स्वं नितव निनिंद ॥ ५५ ॥”

सत्यादास got down from his elephant and welcomed King शंभु —

folio 45 — “इत्थं यात मिहिरनगराम्यतरे शंभुराजं
 सत्यादास सवहुविनयं सादर कुजरेद्वात् ॥
 उत्तार्याथो विपुलललितप्रागणे सांघराज्या ।
 घृवा काते करकिशलये प्राविशत्तद्विवेश ॥ ६७ ॥”

After the marriage King Sambhu starts on his return journey in a chariot accompanied by his bride चंपा:—

folio 78 — “ उपेत्य शिविरं निज सुभटराजिविभ्राजितं ।
 नृपेन्द्रमुकुट. स्वकं श्वशुरवर्गमाज्ञाप्य च ॥
 श्लथद्दृढयपकज प्रचलदध्रुनेत्रावुजं ।
 चचाल चललोचना समुपवेक्ष्य चंपां रये ॥ २६ ॥ ”

The Governor of तपनपत्तन accompanied the returning party for some distance but was asked by King Śambhu in touching words to return —

folio 71 — “ ततस्तपनपत्तनाधिपतिमागत दूरतो ।
 निवर्त्य मनुजेश्वरः सविनय ससैन्यं बलात् ।
 रहस्यतितरा पिवन्वरतनोस्तनो रभ्यतां ।
 ततो बहुमुदान्वितो रमणमेतदूचे वच ॥ ३० ॥ ”

King Śambhu returned to his capital and passed a few days of happy married life but shortly afterwards got the news of an enemy attacking his capital and forces —

folio 74 — “ ततः किल स सुश्रुवान्स्वनगरीमतिव्याकुलाम् — ।
 रातिनिकरै कृतामवसर समासाद्य तं ॥
 समेत्य सचिवै सम तदनु मानसं भूपति- ।
 दंधार गुरुनोदितो निजवरूथिनी सज्जने ॥ ५८ ॥ ”

Personal prowess of King Śambhu in the battle is described —

folio 76 — “ सुहृर्मुहुरतिस्त्वननृथुलमंडलेष्वासनो- ।
 लयाबुद ह्वाद्भुवा बहलवाणवृष्टिं सृजन् ॥
 कराङ्कुररस्फुरत्कचकचचलाप्राचित ।
 समागमदथो नृप प्रचलककण कौंकणः ॥ ”

And Goddess of Victory crowned him with success in the battle —

folio 81 — “ निर्गत्याहवसागराद्बहुमरद्रौघकल्लोलिनो ।
 वाणोद्भिन्नकर्षोद्रकुम्भविगलन्मुक्तावलीं विश्रवा ॥
 वामं बाहुमिदं विलोम्य नृपतेर्वीरश्रिया सेवितं ।
 भजे दक्षमपिप्रवेणिरुचिरा जाने जयवीरपि ॥ १२० ॥ ”

The guru of King Śambhu blessed him on the successful termination of the battle. —

folio 81 — “ आशीर्भिर्नंदयित्वा गुरुरपि स गुरु क्षमापतीनां संकेपां ।
 चंपां तस्मै भयादया सकलभयहरायार्पयित्वा सहर्षं ॥
 निश्चितोभूच्चरासोऽपि तवतुलना सापि दोन्यां गृहीत्वा ।
 न्यस्ता तेन त्वयनिबलजयममला सेव्यमानेव रेजे ॥ १२२ ॥ ”

The guru of Śambharāja by name श्रीहृन्गपदित was apparently a influential person as the following verses tell us. —

folio 82 — “ श्रौतस्मार्त्तगमीयाखिलविमलमहाधर्मकर्मप्रकर्ता ।
 नानाशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता विबुधजनमनः कामितार्थप्रदाता ॥
 सर्वेषामिष्टकर्ता सकलखलजनाखर्वगर्वभेत्ता ।
 श्रीकृष्णास्पडितात्कस्त्रिभुवनविषये कोविदक्लेशहर्ता ॥ १२४ ॥
 साधूनामवधिर्विभावितविधिर्विद्यादयांभोनिधि ।
 सौभाग्यैकनिधिर्विदामन्त्रिसौजन्यवारांनिधि. ॥
 दुर्नीतिः परिधि खलाद्युपविधि. प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधि- ।
 र्यस्यास्ते गुरुरेक एव सुनिधि. कृष्णो गुणौघांनुधि ।। १२५ ॥ ”

The गुरु praises the achievements of the glittering sword of भवानी in the hands of King शंभु —

folio 82 — “ राजर्त्तिक घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मंदवाचो ।
 वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो भवान्यां ॥
 चक्रे तत्तत्प्रमत्तद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्ण ।
 सा वीराशसिनीभूस्त्रिजगति विजया शसिनी यच्चकास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥
 शभो त्वत्खड्गवल्ली लसति समुदिता कालकादविनीव ।
 ध्वांतालीं सैन्यधूलीं बत जगति समातस्य झस्कारविद्युत् ॥
 अस्त्रां सारैरपारै प्रधनवसुमतीं ग्वावयती समतात् ।
 प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुभोदूतमणिकरकान्प्रक्षिपती नितान्त ॥ १२७ ॥
 सूते नानापदार्थांस्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्भुत तत् ।
 तापार्कं कीर्तिचद्र विजयहुतभुज तारकालीं गुणालीं ॥
 झत्कारान्विद्युदोघानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां ।
 नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसरावाष्पशैवालिन्यश्च ॥ १२८ ॥ ”

The numbering of folios breaks off at folio 82 and different numbering begins, the folios being numbered differently in black and red ink. Apparently a new chapter begins on folio $\frac{159}{1}$ (red ink) with ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Folio $\frac{160}{1}$ — King Śambhu and Campā, his queen, are shown as enjoying the pleasures of life. The following verse shows them in a sporting mood —

“ कांत चंपा त्वथ हिमचलद्वातसजातकपा ।
 सग्रीचीभि सहहिमक्रतु संप्रवृत्त समीक्ष्य ॥
 सौख्यागारं श्रमभरसुख लाघवार्थं स्वदेहे ।
 लीलागेहे कुरुत ललितकटुकक्रीडितानि ॥ १५ ॥ ”

The above chapter breaks off at folio $\frac{177}{18}$. Another chapter begins on folio $\frac{181}{1}$ with "श्रीगणेशाय नमः." The poet flatters his own style in the following verse :—

folio $\frac{197}{17}$ " स्फूर्जस्फूर्जविविक्तवाक्यरचना चातुर्यसारांवरा ।
 शृंगाराख्यरसेशमर्मकलिताः नानागुणालकृताः ।
 सञ्ज्ञालित्यमनोहरा हरिकवेवांचः प्रगल्भा इव ।
 प्रोलासं रचयतु यंतु विबुधा विंदत्यमदं दिवि ॥ १५१ ॥ "

Then follows the colophon of the 10th canto which is called 'सूर्यास्तादिवर्णन' —

folio $\frac{197}{17}$ " साधुश्रेणिपदाब्जवदनकर सतोषपूर्णावर ।
 श्रीनारायणसंभवो हरिकविर्नारायणोपासकः ।
 चंपावल्गुनववर्णपथरचनाचातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
 तत्काव्ये सल्लु शंभुराजचरिते दिक्सप्यसर्गोभवत् ॥ १५३ ॥ "

इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयाके
 शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये सूर्यास्तादिवर्णनो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥
 समाप्त ॥ श्री ॥ "

The next canto begins on folio $\frac{198}{18}$. It contains a description of King Sambhu enjoying a bath with his queen Campā in the bathing apartments. The bathing accessories in royal style are described in the following verses :—

folio $\frac{200}{3}$ " पात्रं नीलमरीचिमंडलगतं प्रौढेद्रत्नोन्नवं ।
 सोरभ्याद्भुतमौमर्तैलललितं शृंगावलीगुंजितं ॥
 कालिंदीद्वदमप्यसत्पितमिव व्याक्रोशमिदीवरं ।
 संप्रानोदमरददृदसुभगं संभाति संभाव्यताम् ॥ १५ ॥
 वैलाभारविर्नालनिर्गतमहपुंजप्रसारांवरे ।
 लोलंत.किल ककलीकलकलाः संभाति पुष्पंधया ॥
 कालिंदीपुलिनोदरप्रविलसज्जुंवालजाले मियः ।
 खेलेतो मलिनागका. कलरवासकास्तु बाला इव ॥ १६ ॥ "

This canto breaks off at folio $\frac{200}{3}$ and a fragment of another canto abruptly begins on folio $\frac{224}{11}$. It contains विष्णुस्तुति.

Shivāji was called 'गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालकः'. The following verse refers to 'गोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुषु भक्ति' as perhaps a family heritage.—

folio $\frac{282}{19}$ " वायु. श्रीविजय सुखं च परमैश्वर्यं प्रतापोदय ।
कीर्ति. कुंदनिभा मतिश्च विमला संपच्च सर्वोन्नता ॥
काति शारदचंद्रिकाचयसमा विद्या च विद्योतिनी ।
भक्तिगोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुषु श्रीशंभुराजास्तु ते ॥ १५२ ॥ "

Hari Kavi makes his own remarks about his poetry and gives us his genealogy and the date of composition of *Sambhurāja-Carita*.—

Folio— $\frac{288}{20}$ कर्तुं कांतकवित्वकोटिरचनां यथस्ति वः कौतुकम्
तत्संतः पिबतामलानिमधुनासिकानि सूक्तानि न ॥ १६१ ॥
मया मंदेनेह त्रिभुवनमनोहारिचरिता ।
कृता वाचां गु(गुं)फां गुणविहितरूपां कृतधियः ॥
तदेतज्जानीध्वं यदयमुपजीन्यामरतरो- ।
गिरां गंध प्राप्त कविसुरभिता शंकरगुरोः ॥ १६२ ॥ ¹
येनैक. कवितावतारसमये ग्रंथः समुह्यासित-।
स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो बंध परो निर्मित ।
तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबधोत्तमाः ।
सोय कोपि हरिं कवि कविरविज्योतिःकणो दीन्यति ॥ १६३ ॥ ²
श्रीनारायणनामसद्यतिवरप्रौढप्रसादोदया- ।
द्यप्रापाखिलदुर्लभा निजकुले कारुण्यकल्लोलिनीं ॥
श्रीकांतस्य ययामलेद्यकुरुतां तस्मिन्विलास निज ।

1 The following verse in small hand-writing is given at the top of folio $\frac{289}{20}$ as an addition indicated by the mark \swarrow after the verse No. 162 —

" श्रीमद्वाकरणावगाहनपटुः काव्याधिपारगमः ।
साहित्यामृतसिंधुरागमलसद्धर्मशास्त्रोद्भटः ॥
छदोलकृतिशालिशालिधिषणो नानोपविद्यानिधिः ।
सल्लाखानुगततरो हरिकविर्नारायणिर्नदति ॥ १६३ ॥ "

2 After verse No. 163 the following addition indicated by the mark \swarrow is copied in the bottom margin of folio $\frac{283}{20}$ —

" वक्ता पद्दर्श(ना)ना भवति खलु नरः कश्चिदाहोस्विदन्य ।
प्राज्ञः सर्वासु विद्यास्वपि भवति जनः सर्वलोकैकमान्यः ॥
दुःप्रापः कोप्यनल्पप्रखरतरमतिः सोऽत्रविद्यासुकास्व-
प्येक पाद तदद्दं पदमपि विबुधानदन शुक्रमेघः ॥ १६४ ॥ "

वैरं रूतमहो विहाय सतत चाग्यादिनी संपदौ ॥ १६४ ॥
 यश्च श्रीपतिमंत्रचित्तनसमुल्लामोल्लसत्सोभग ।
 सौंदर्यं परमापतत्त्रिभुवनप्रक्षोभणप्रोद्भुरं ॥
 तं संपत्तिभर वरतयमल वाचा विलामं तया ।
 यैर्विभ्रातिकरोभवत्त्रिजगता कामाव्युत प्रह्लाणं ॥ १६५ ॥
 सोमं भूरिगुणो निकाममहिमा सौजन्यवारां निधिः ।
 श्रीचिंतामणिनामको द्विजपतिश्चातुर्यचिंतामणिः ।
 सूरिं सुतुमसूत तं तनुधरं साक्षात्प्रसादोदय ।
 श्रीकातीयमिव प्रकानविभवं श्रीरंगनाथामिभं ॥ १६६ ॥
 नानाशास्त्रविचारचारधिपणो विश्वोपकारव्रत ।
 श्रीगोविंदपदारविंदसुरसा सक्तावरोर्विदिरः ॥
 यः श्रीभागवतामृतान्निविलसत्कलोलसेकैः सदा ।
 संसाराभिधदावदग्धमखिलं लोक समाजीवयत् ॥ १६७ ॥
 तस्मादाविरभूत्त्रिलोकविदितो नारायणः किं स्वयं ।
 श्रीनारायणनामको गुरवरः श्री पद्मनाभानुजः ॥
 यस्मिन्नासतते गुणाः स्थितिजुषः सर्वेनुरूपादयः ।
 स्वीय वैरमहो विहाय सततं सौजन्यलुब्धा इव ॥ १६८ ॥
 पतंगतनुजालसन्मिद्विरपत्तनाध्यासनः ।
 समस्तगुणतुंक्तितो विबुधचक्रचूडानणिः ।
 रमेशपदपद्मजप्रमदमानसैर्विदिरः ।
 परास्तकुहकांतरप्रगुणदाक्षिणात्यान्त्रय ॥ १६९ ॥
 श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणजालिलसुधमंसंवर्द्धनः ।
 समुद्रवसनोल्लसदिपदकीर्तिचंद्रोदयः ॥
 विळोकनविदारितप्रचितलोकपादोदय ।
 सुधमं इव मूर्तिमान्विजयते स नारायण ॥ १७० ॥
 सत्कीर्तिक्लृपलतिका दलितकिंरासी- ।
 द्विजानकल्पतरुरप्यखिलो विदीर्णः ।
 सौजन्यासिपुरपि शुष्कसुधारसोन्- ।
 नारायणेखिलगुरो स्वतनुं प्रविष्टे ॥ १७१ ॥
 तस्मात्प्राप्तपदाब्जसेवनपरः सोऽपि हरिश्चाम्भव- ।
 श्रीनारायणपादपद्मसुधासेवासवाग्यमव- ॥
 यः श्री शंभुमहोपदेवपि गुरोस्तस्यैव कृष्णाव्यया ।
 विख्यातस्य निदेशतो जगन्निदं काव्यं व्यधाद्भुव ॥ १७२ ॥
 यत्तुः काव्यमिदं नहस्तुतयत् स्वीयाश्रया श्रीहरे- ।

श्रोतो (S) भीष्टमलं ददौ तदखिलं येनायमानंदवान् ॥
 (संपू^१) णं सकल स्वकीयममल पुत्रप्रपौत्रै समं ।
 यावज्जीवमहो स्वजीवनकृते नान्यं वदान्यं गत ॥ १७३ ॥
 विकाशं सश्रीते विदुधरविभिः काव्यकमले ।
 मदीयेस्मिन्स्फूर्जद्विविधगुणसौरभ्यनिवहे ॥
 रसाली संपूर्णे कमलनिलया सातिदयया ।
 सरासं संवासं रचयतु जगन्मोहनकरी ॥ १७४ ॥
 आचंद्रार्कं समुद्यन्नवरसललितां द्योतिसंदर्भसारां ।
 नानालंकारपूर्णां निचितगुणगणां भूरिभावाथंगभां ॥
 राजद्वैदग्ध्यसुधा मुररिपुगृहिणीमुखसंतीमिवांत ।
 कामासूयाविमुक्ता मम भणत मिहो साधवो भावयंतु ॥ १७५ ॥
 दु सगोस्तु कदापिना त्रिभुवने कस्यापि सस्यान्वितां ।
 भूमिः संततमस्तु वस्तुनि परे निष्ठां ब्रजेयुर्जना ॥
 नीचा नित्यमिह त्यजंतु सुहृदां वैरं न वैरकुरै-
 भांग्याना क्षितिनायक क्षितितले शशुश्चिरं नंदतु ॥ १७६ ॥
 श्रीचिंतामणिसूरिसूनुविदुधश्रीरंगनाथोद्भव- ।
 श्रीनारायणसभवो हरिकविर्य श्रीशपादाश्रय ॥
 सर्गोद्भूतवद्यपथरनाचातुर्याविद्योतिते ।
 तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते काव्यातिमो द्वादश ॥ १७७ ॥
 पीयूषांशु १ समुद्र ५ सप्त ७ वसुधा १ विद्योतिते वैक्रमे ।
 वर्षे मासि च पौषनाम्नि बहुले पक्षे द्वितीयादिने ॥
 सद्गारे द्विजनायकस्य पितृभे चापूर्णयष्टीहरिः ।
 काव्य शोभनशंभुराजचरितं नानागुणोज्ज्वलित ॥ १७८ ॥
 इति सूर्यपुरस्थिते नारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयाके
 शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये राजनीतितत्त्वोपदेशनिर्णयो नाम
 द्वादशः सर्गः ॥ श्री ॥ संपूर्णं चैतत्काव्य ॥ श्री ॥

The genealogy of Hari Kavi as disclosed in the above extract can be represented as under —

(1) चिंतामणि (vide verses 166 and 177 above)

|

(2) रंगनाथ (Son of No. 1 - vide verses 166 and 177)

|

(3) नारायण (Son of No. 2 - vide verses 168 and 177. He is called
 | the younger brother of पद्मनाभ in verse 168)
 | (पद्मनाभाज)

(4) हरिकवि (Son of No. 3—see verses 177 and 170).

It appears that Hari Kavi's father Nārāyaṇa who was originally a Deccani Brahman (दाक्षिणात्यान्वय - v. 169) had settled at Surat as he is called 'मिहिरपत्तनाध्यासन' (v. 169) i. e. resident of मिहिरपत्तन which is the same as सूर्यपुर or Surat mentioned in the colophons. It appears that Hari Kavi also was residing at Surat or सूर्यपुर and consequently the scene of King Śambhu's marriage with चंपा is laid in मिहिरनगर (folio 15) which appears to be identical with मिहिरपत्तन of which Hari Kavi's father नारायण was resident as stated in verse 169 How far this fact is true to history I am unable to say at present.

In verse 172 quoted above we are told that this poem was composed by the order of (निदेशतः) one कृष्ण known as the गुरु of King शंभु (= शंभु महीपते अपि कृष्णाख्यया विख्यातस्य गुरोः निदेशत इदं काव्य व्यधात् etc.). This कृष्ण गुरु appears to be identical with कृष्णपदित described in two verses (on folio 82) which we have quoted above.

The date of composition recorded in verse 178 of the colophon is Vikrama Samvat 1741, in the month of *Pauṣa*, Bahula Pakṣa, 2nd tithi, which corresponds to *Monday, 12th January 1685*.¹ The last folio which records the above date of composition was found pasted to another stray folio with some written matter on both the sides. This stray folio records on one side the colophon of some work on *phala-yyotiṣa* or astrology containing *Samvat 1740 and Śaka 1605* (= A. D. 1684), If this date is regarded as the date of copying of some work on astrology it may be possible to conclude that our Ms of *Śambhurāja-Carita* is a contemporary copy perhaps made in the very year of its composition viz. A. D. 1685, its last folio being pasted on another stray folio written one year earlier i. e. in 1684 as pointed out above The other side of the stray folio contains some written matter concluded by 3 verses ascribed to Hari Kavi as under —

Folio ²³⁵/₂₂ — “ स्फुरत्कीर्तिज्योत्स्नावलयविसरोद्भासितकर ।

प्रतापाम्निज्वालाप्रसरभरसत्तापितपर. ॥

समुद्गच्छदपवांनृतकरमुजोविश्वमहितो ।

प्रजो यस्य आता जयति महित. शकर इति ॥

ये जन्नावधितंभृता च रभस नानामिलाप. परं ।

ठानाप्नु सुरमाप्रकोकिलकरस्त्वामाश्रितः सादरं ॥

¹ *Indian Epitaphs*, Vol. VI, p. 172.

आस्तां दूरत एव तत्परिचय किंत्वस्य साधारणा- ।
त्वत्तो जीवतमप्यलभ्यमभवत्किंभूमेतत्परम् ॥

— हरिकवेर्ममैतौ ॥ ”

“ सुमुखशिखरनामग्रामगानप्रणाम- ।
स्मरणविहितविघ्नघ्वांतधाराविघात ॥
तरुणतरणिकोटिज्योतिविद्योतित्तांग ।
स भवतु भगवान्मे विघ्नहा वि (घ्ननाश. ?) ॥ ”

— हरिकवेर्ममयं ॥

There is besides the stray folio described above another stray folio in the beginning of the Ms written on one side of the paper with borders ruled in double red lines and of a slightly smaller size than the Ms of Śambhurāja-Carita containing the following five verses.—

“ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

हिमगिरितनया सा पातु मां सारवृत्त- ।
प्रथितगुणविसर्गा यद्गुणाद्दृष्टचेता ॥
त्रिभुवनगुरुरीशो यां वहन्नर्द्धदेदे- ।
गमदतिविकृतं ह्याप्यर्द्धनारीश्वरत्व ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमान्गजेंद्रवदन. सदन मतीनां ।
पायादपायभयतः स तु मा नितांत ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगे दधान ।
सिंदूरपूरममित वहिरुज्जिहान ॥ २ ॥ ¹
फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तसक्तदया दयासरित् ।
शब्दसागरविचारचातुरी हेतुरीप्सितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ३ ॥ ²
श्लाघते महिमानमन्नकवयः के के न कृष्टांतरा- ।
श्रंचत्काव्यकरा परं तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणैर्गुरु ।
बिंबद्वेषिदले यदास्यकमले..... ददातुले ।
वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेळति ॥ ४ ॥
कातेव मंजुलपदा कमनीयवर्णा ।
संश्लेषपूर्वकमपूर्वतर वदती ॥
न स्यात्कथं तु सरसा सकला सभावा ।
श्रीचक्रपाणिकविताभिमतता बुधानां ॥ ५ ॥
अथ बहुलगुण सुमाननीयो ।
भुवनभुवा..... ”

¹ This verse is identical with verse No. 1 in Ms No 829 of 1675-76.

² This verse No. 3 appears as verse No 4 in the Ms (No 829 of 1675-76) of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य-
व्याख्या of Hari Kavi.

It is clear that the above extract contains the beginning of some poetical work of चक्रपाणि as the expression “चक्रपाणिकविता” in verse 5 above shows. I shall now prove that this चक्रपाणि is identical with the brother of Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma in his article³ on Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* remarks:—

“Hari Kavi was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa, one of whose verses he quotes and refers to it as श्रीनारायणगुरुचरणानाम्.” His youngest brother was called चक्रपाणिकवि and he is referred to by Hari Kavi as ‘मत्कनिष्ठभ्राता’ or अस्मदाजुजचक्रपाणि कवि.’ It seems that our poet had other brothers but we find no account of them. This चक्रपाणि differs from the चक्रपाणि mentioned in कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चय (p. 37) सद्गुणिकर्णामृत (p. 53) and पद्यावलि of रूपगोस्वामिन् (fol. 26^a, v. 258).

Dr. Sharma then quotes two verses introduced by Hari Kavi as composed by his brother चक्रपाणि. They are:—

(१) “कृपापांगाद्यस्य श्रयति रसना शुभ्रवसना ।

... ..भगवानेकरदनः

—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातु चक्रपाणिकवे. ”

(२) “श्लाघ्य (घ) न्ते महिमानमय कवयः स्वीयं न हृष्टान्तरा ।

के के काव्यकरा परन्तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणेर्गुरु (रो. ?)

विषद्वेपिदले यदास्यकमले क्षोदाभदन्तामले ।

वाग्देवी कमलेव विभ्रहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलति ॥

—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुचक्रपाणिकवे. ”

(fol. 33. v. 124)

It will be now seen that verse No. 2 quoted above is exactly identical with v. 4 of the चक्रपाणिकविता stray folio viz. “श्लाघ्ये.....खेलति.” This identity proves beyond doubt that Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* refers in his anthology to the verses of his brother culled from the “चक्रपाणिकविता” Ms, a stray folio of which has been preserved in the Ms of शंभुराजचरित of Hari Kavi. This association of चक्रपाणि with the author of शंभुराजचरित raises the question about the identity of the two Hari Kavīs viz. (1) हरिकवि, the author of मुनापितहारावलि and (2) हरिकवि, the author of शंभुराजचरित. I shall now prove that both these authors are identical. My grounds for establishing this identity are —

³ Indian Hist. Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 3 pp. 478-485.

(1) Dr. Sharma observes¹ about Hari Kavi, the author of *सुभाषित-हारावलि* :—

“The author Śrī Hari Kavi seems to have been a poet of high order. He boasts of himself in the following verse .—

येनैक कवितावतारसमये ग्रथः समुल्लासित- ।

स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो वधः परो निर्मितः ॥ ”

तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबोधोत्तमाः

सोऽय कोऽपि हरिः कविः कविरविज्योति कणो दीव्यति ॥

(fol. 33^a v. 123)

The above verse is identical with v. 163 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$ of the Ms of *शमुराजचरित* incorporated in the long extract quoted above. Perhaps it may have been taken from the *Śambhurāja-Carita* by the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. This identity of verses is sufficient to establish the identity of the two Hari Kavis.

(2) Mr. M. Krishnamacharya² in his book on Sanskrit Literature remarks about Hari Kavi the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* —

“His native country however appears to be the Dekkan and he betrays a very close acquaintance with the literature of his country.”

These remarks are to some extent borne out by the colophon of the *Śambhurāja-Carita*. We have stated above that Hari Kavi's father नारायण was the resident of मिहिरपत्तन or सूर्यपुर or Surat but he is said to be ‘दाक्षिणात्यान्वय’ (v. 169 of the colophon).

(3) Dr. Sharma states about the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* — “Among various other poets Hari Kavi mentions the names of the following with reverence as—

I	रामजिरपंडितानाम्	II	लक्ष्मीधरपादानाम्
III	माधवपुरीपादानाम्	IV	महीश्वरपुरीपादानाम्
V	मधुसूदनसरस्वतीनाम्	VI	अनवदेवानाम्
VII	श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्	VIII	श्रीराघवचैतन्यानाम्
IX	श्रीवोपदेवपंडितानाम्	X	गोपीनाथपंडितानाम्
XI	सोमजिद्भट्टानाम्.		

It is possible to make a conjecture that these people were either Hari Kavi's contemporaries or preceded him shortly.”

Dr. Sharma's conjecture that some of these people were Hari Kavi's contemporaries appears to be corroborated so far as कृष्णपंडित is concerned.

1 IHQ, Vol. X, No. 3, p 483.

2 *The Classical Period of Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1906, p 126

We have seen above that the शंभुराजचरित mentions him as the गुरु of King Śambhu and describes him in two verses (124 and 125 on folio 82). Besides we are told that Hari Kavi composed the Śambhurājacarita at the bidding of this कृष्णपण्डित (v. 172 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$).

(4) As regards the parentage of the author of the Śambhurājacarita and that of the Subhāṣitahārāvalī I have to observe as follows :-

(1) The colophons of the different Sargas of the Śambhurājācarita uniformly call हरिकवि as ' नारायणसूरिसुत ' i. e. son of नारायणसूरि. Then again verse 177 of the extract from the colophon quoted above and verse 153 on folio $\frac{197}{17}$ use the adjective ' नारायणसंभव ' with reference to Hari Kavi.

He is also called ' नारायणिः ' in verse 163 in the top margin of folio $\frac{233}{20}$.

All these expressions prove that नारायण was the father of हरिकवि.

(ii) Dr. Sharma states that Hari Kavi, the author of सुभाषितहारवलि was the pupil of नारायण as he refers to him as ' नारायणगुरुचरणानाम्. ' The statement of the colophons in the शंभुराजचरित makes it clear that नारायणसूरि was the father of हरिकवि. The title सूरि here is significant as नारायण was not only the father of हरिकवि but his गुरु as well, because in verse 168 he is mentioned as गुरुवर (नारायणनामको गुरुवर.) which corresponds to the title सूरि used in the colophons. It is, therefore, clear that one and the same person नारायण was both the गुरु and the father of Hari Kavi. In verse 153 (Folio $\frac{197}{17}$) Hari Kavi calls himself ' नारायणोपासक ' in addition to his being ' नारायणसंभव, ' Verse 164 (folio $\frac{233}{20}$) informs us that his family attained pre-eminence owing to the grace of an ascetic (यत्तिवर) of the name of नारायण.

The identity of the two Hari Kavis is in my opinion sufficiently established on the strength of the evidence recorded above. It is now easy to fix the date of Subhāṣitahārāvalī. In this connection we quote Dr. Sharma's conclusion — 1

" As Hari Kavi quotes the verses of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, he cannot be a contemporary of Akbar. Therefore, he must have flourished in the middle of the 17th century A. D. "

This conclusion of Dr Sharma is confirmed in general by our study of the *Śambhurājacarita* because it was composed in A. D. 1685 and because of our identification of the author of the *Subhāṣitahārāvālī* and the *Śambhurājacarita* as stated above. As regards the chronological order of these two works we are unable to decide because the verse common to both these works is not indicated by the name of its source. A glance at the varied and rich contents of the *Subhāṣitahārāvālī* will show, however, that Harī Kavi was a voracious reader and perhaps this encyclopaedic anthology containing gems of Sanskrit poetry culled from innumerable sources beginning from poets and poetasters of hoary antiquity down to his contemporary Kṛṣṇapandita and even his younger brother Cakrapāṇi, served as a good discipline for a budding poet of Harī Kavi's classical taste so as to enable him to write an independent *mahākāvya* in 12 cantos bubbling with the essence of Sanskrit classical poetry and devoted to the glorification of King Sambhājī, whose gay personality afforded him an excellent opportunity to make a colourful display of a princely career, which has been estimated by some modern historians as politically effete and unwise.

My brief analysis of the *Śambhurājacarita* based on the available fragment of this *mahākāvya* will, it is hoped, remove doubts, if any, of modern historians about the identity of the hero of this poem with King Sambhājī, the son of Shivājī. I shall, however, sum up the main facts revealed in my analysis which support my identification of *Śambhurāja* with King Sambhājī —

(1) Date of composition of the poem viz. A. D. 1685 corresponds to Sambhājī's period of reign

(2) The birth of शमुचृपति from शिवचृप and the adjectives शिवभव, शिवोद्भव as applied to शमुराज in many places as pointed out by me in the preamble of this paper clearly indicate the parentage of the Maratha King

(3) The reference to the sword of the goddess भवानी in the hands of King Śambhu and its description in three verses as pointed out by me also confirm my identification.

(4) The mention of 'गोविंज¹ भक्ति' with reference to Śambhurāja is also important. Shivājī was called 'गोव्राह्मणप्रतिपालक' and his son

1 Compare the following verse in the Budhabhūṣaṇa of King Śambhu (Govt. Ori. Series) B. O. R. Institute, 1926 —

“अधीत्य वेदान्परिसंस्तीर्य चाग्नीनिष्ट्वा यज्ञैः पालयित्वा प्रजाश्च ।
गोव्राह्मणार्थे शस्त्रपूतान्तरात्मा हतः सग्रामे क्षत्रियः स्वर्गमेति ॥ ५५ ॥”

Sambhāji was expected to follow his father in keeping this motto before him as a state policy at a time when Hinduism was regarded to be in peril.

(5) The poet Hari Kavi may have resided occasionally at Sambhāji's court, though he himself and his father may have been normally residents of सूर्यपुर or Surat. As the poem was composed at the bidding of Sambhāji's गुरु by name कृष्णपंडित such an inference is warranted. At any rate a greater contact of the courtly life of King Sambhāji may be presumed in view of the dominant note of gaiety prevailing in the portion of this mahākāvya analysed by me. The poet's family belonged originally to the Deccan as his father is called ' दक्षिणात्यान्वय ' and naturally he must have entertained a high regard for a King of the Deccan territories, though Surat was at this period of history in the hands of foreigners.

My friend Prof. H. D. Velankar has already published a " Sanskrit work called वृणभूषण (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Govt. Ori. Series, 1926) claiming for its author King Sambhu, popularly known as Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great " and has thus retrieved the lost name of King Sambhāji as " nothing but vicious deeds, at the most brave and daring, are usually connected with the name of Prince Sambhāji. " About Sambhāji's literary taste Prof. Velankar remarks:— " — it is possible to conclude that not only had Sambhāji received education at the hands of learned Pandits but he had also taste for Sanskrit literature and was occasionally in the habit of writing poetry in Hindi under the influence of Kavi Kalāśa or the celebrated Kalusha, especially when passing his leisure hours in the company of beautiful women." In his Preface Prof. Velankar refers to Sambhāji's Hindi Poems, selections from which were shown to him by Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji, J. P. Then again verses 116 and 15 in the preamble of Budhabhūṣana clearly refer to Sambhāji's contact with learned men well versed in Poetry, Rhetoric, Purāṇas, Music and Archery.

Hari Kavi, a poet of no mean talents, must have been foremost among the learned men patronized by Sambhāji and in my opinion his present mahākāvya gives an added lustre to the cultural history of Sambhāji's reign.

1. These verses read as follows —

“ तत्सामजः शुभुरिति प्रसिद्धः समस्तसामतद्विशेषवन्तः (वतंसः) ।

यः कान्यसाहित्यपुण्यगीतसौदम्यविद्यानिर्वाणारगामो ॥ १५ ॥

निविच्य शास्त्राणि पुण्यतानामादाय तेन्यः पशु सोयमर्थम् ।

करोति सद्गुण्यमनु नृपाल स शुभुवर्मा शुभुनृदगात्यम् ॥ १६ ॥ ”

About Kalusha, the enchanter, who exerted a wonderful influence upon Sambhāji Prof. Velankar remarks.—

“Among the quotations we find one from the pen of famous Kalusha. It is highly poetical and even though we unfortunately do not possess any literary remains of this great favourite of King Sambhāji, we have grounds to believe that he was a literary man. In the old chronicles he is described as Kavikalaśa or the poet Kalaśa.” “We will not be, however, far from truth in assuming that to a considerable extent his literary gifts helped Kalusha to maintain his influence with the prince. It is quite possible that this Kavi Kalusha may have composed several poems, which were not preserved owing to the general disfavour in which he was held, but stray copies of which may yet have existed and might one day be discovered by us ”

These remarks of Prof. Velankar tempt me to infer by way of pure hypothesis that कृष्णपंडित who is described in two verses as the गुरु of King Sambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita* may be identical with Kavikalaśa, the Kanuja Brahman who is popularly believed to have been purposely sent by the Emperor from Delhi Hari Kavi, as Dr. Sharma tells us, refers to some verses of this pandit and introduces them in his *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* by the expression “ श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्.” Then again in the *Śambhurājacarita* Hari Kavi states that he wrote by order (निदेशतः) of one कृष्ण who was the गुरु of even King Sambhu (शत्रुमहीपतेरपि गुरोः). All these references show the great influence कृष्णपंडित held over King Sambhāji and it is possible that he may have been identical with the great enchanter of Sambhāji, popularly known as Kavi Kalaśa. This identification is however, suggested as a mere hypothesis as among other accomplishments of कृष्णपंडित given in the two verses on folio 82 quoted above we find that he is called “सकलखलत्रनाखर्वगर्वप्रभेत्ता” and ‘दुर्निति परिधि खलायुपविधि प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधि’—expressions which may hint at his cleverness in political chicanery, so characteristic of Kavi Kalaśa, the great enchanter of King Sambhāji.

Irrespective of our proposed identification of कृष्णपंडित with कवि कलश it would be useful to put on record verses quoted by Hari Kavi in his *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* and ascribed to कृष्णपंडित for the reason that he is mentioned as the गुरु of King Sambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita*. If any poems of कविकलश are traced hereafter by historians the verses recorded below may prove useful in studying the question of our proposed identity of the two personalities. I, therefore, quote these verses from the fragment of

the Ms of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* viz. No. 92 of A 1883-84 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. —

folios 8-9 — “ वृंदाख्यमहीषु वंशनिनदामदामृतास्वादाना- ।

निस्यदानि दधुक्षयेव सुरभि वृदानि सदानयन् ॥

मंदारद्रुमवीथिकासुविहरन् वंदारुवृंदारक- ।

द्रवस्तुत्यभिनदितोस्तु जगदानंदाय नदामज ॥ ५५ ॥

— कृष्णपंडितानाम् ”

folio 15 — “ शैवालश्रेणिशोभां दधति हरजटावल्लभोह यस्या- ।

स्त सा सोल्लासवल्लाद्वरशफरतुलां यत्र धत्ते कलावान् ॥

उन्मीलन्नोगिभोगावलिषुभगसिताभोजवंभावितामा ।

गंगानंगारिसगा मम महति विधौ मगलान्यातनोतु ॥

— श्रीमत्कृष्णपंडितानाम् ”

folio 38 — “ यद्वाणी वाणिनीनां मधुरमधुरसद्रोहिणीं रौहिणेय- ।

ध्रुत्वा हलावहेलां रचयति सुचिर सम्मदाकुचिताक्षं ॥

किंचिद्राक्षासदक्षाक्षरसनकरत्नस्तरुद्राक्षमाल ।

सोरुठ नीलकंठोप्यनुपठति शिरस्ताडवाडं वरेण ॥ १९६ ॥

मौलमदारदामभ्रदलीपटलीकाकलीं श्रोणिर्विधे ॥

चंचल्कांचीनिदान चरणकमलयोर्मंजुमंजोरसिजां ॥

उत्संगे कीरगीत स्तनभुवि मसृण कलुकी पचमं वा ॥

तरुण्ये दत्तकर्णा शिवशिवमनुते भारतीभारमेव ॥ १९७ ॥

यः पीयूषमयूखधामनि सुधा साराळकछेपि यः ।

क्षुभ्यरक्षीरसमुद्रसाद्रलहरी लावण्यपूरुपि यः ॥

यः काठाधरपल्लवे मधुरिमा नासौ समुद्रगाहते ।

श्रीविद्वत्कविकृष्णपंडितवचो वीचिसमीचीनतां ॥ १९८ ॥

श्रीकृष्णपंडितानामेते ”

folio — “ रमाल गरसारापि वाणी व्याकरणोज्जिता- ।

श्रित्रोपहतगात्रेव न रंजयति सज्जनान् ॥ २१६ ॥

— कृष्णपंडितानाम् ”

We have seen above that in the old chronicles Sambhāṇi's adviser Kalasha is described as कविऋतः. In the above verses of कृष्णपंडित he styles himself as कवि कृष्णपंडित apparently emphasizing his poetical talents and perhaps echoing the identity of his Sanskrit name कवि कृष्ण with the popular name कवि कलश.

II

Since the above paper was written I have analysed Mss of हेह्यैत्रकान्य represented by the following entry in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, 768 —

“हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य and *ṭikā* by Hari, Report CLXX – Comm. by शंभु *ibid*”

Mss represented by this entry of Aufrecht are available in the Govt. Mss Library. They are —(1) No. 827 of 1875-76. (2) No. 828 of 1875-76 and (3) No. 829 of 1875-76. They were acquired from Surat by Dr. Bühler in 1875. Aufrecht's entry about the author of this Kāvya and commentary is misleading because we find that this Kāvya was written by Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* and the *Śambhurājacarita*.

Mss No 828 of 1875-76—This is a fragment of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्यटीका of हरिकवि. Some of its folios are not numbered but it consists of 46 folios. It was copied in Samvat 1779 i. e. in A. D. 1723 as the following colophon shows —

“इति श्री सूर्यप्रस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचितायां श्री हैहयेन्द्रचरिताख्य-
महाकाव्यव्याख्यायां शम्भुविलासिकाख्यायामष्टमः सर्गः ॥ समाप्तः ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ संवत् १७७९
वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि १ रवौ समाप्तिमगमत्”

The above colophon makes it clear that this commentary was written by हरिकवि. The poem commented on is a महाकाव्य called हैहयेन्द्रचरित and the name of this commentary is ‘शम्भुविलासिका.’ We have no means of ascertaining the number of cantos of this महाकाव्य of हरिकवि but the above colophon of canto VIII proves that it must have been somewhat like the *Śambhurājacarita* in its extent. The references to earlier works and authors found in this fragment are:—

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (1) शारदातिलक fol 1, 6, | (14) छंदोभुजगमौलि fol. 23, |
| (2) अभिधानरत्न fol. 2, 6, 7, 8, 11,
13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 27, 30,
32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, | (15) भाष्य fol. 29, |
| (3) अमरः many times, | (16) भाष्यमत or भाष्यानुमतं fol. 26, |
| (4) श्रीमद्भागवत fol 5, 17, 32, ; | (17) पिंगलसूत्र fol 26, |
| (5) दशश्लोकायामाश्रयायनेन fol. 6, | (18) शाङ्गधर्या fol 28, |
| (6) विश्वः fol. 8, 39, | (19) मत्कृतमेव fol. 29, |
| (7) साध्यमत fol 9, | (20) पिंगलनाग fol. 29, |
| (8) महीप fol. 9, 28, 29, 32, 36, | (21) पिंगलभाष्य fol 31, |
| (9) भगवत्पादैः fol. 10, | (22) रुक्मिणधन fol 33, |
| (10) भाचार्यैः fol 10, | (23) वारभटालंकारे fol. 33; |
| (11) नैयायिकमत fol. 10, | (24) कालिदास fol. 36, |
| (12) कवचे fol 19, | (25) वृत्तरत्नाकर fol. 37, |
| (13) हैमः fol. 20, 30, 36, 38, 44, | (26) क्षीरस्वामी fol 42; |
| | (27) कामशास्त्र fol 42, |
| | (28) रतिरहस्य fol. 46, |

Ms No. 829 of 1875-76—This fragment of संभुविलासिका consists of about 76 folios of which folios 1 to 68 contain the commentary for canto I of हेहयेन्द्रचरित, while folios 69 to 76 contain a portion of the commentary for canto II (12 verses only). This Ms is very important for our present study as it furnishes more particulars about Hari Kavi. The first 10 verses refer to नारायण, the गुरु of Hari Kavi, and also refer to his patron संभुवृन्दीपति who is styled as शैव i. e. born of शिव or Shivāji (verses 7 and 8). We are also told explicitly that this commentary was composed by the order of Sambhāji and that the Kāvya was composed by Hari Kavi himself (verse 10)

This statement proves that Hari Kavi must have been a court-poet of King Sambhāji to receive direct orders of King Sambhāji unlike his composition of *Sambhurājacarita* which, as we have seen above, was composed at the bidding of कृष्णपंडित, the गुरु, of Sambhāji. Perhaps this गुरु may have brought Hari Kavi into prominence and royal favour recognizing his poetic talents and learning, being himself कवि and पंडित ('कवि-कृष्णपंडित'). I shall now quote the introductory 12 verses of this Ms as no other copies of this work are available so far:—
folio 1-2—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीमान्ज्येष्ठवदनः सदनं मतीनां ।
पायादपायमयतः स तु मा नितांत ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगे दधानः ।
सिंधूरधूममिव बहिसज्जिह्वानं ॥ १ ॥
यो मां दधाति कमनीयतनुं रसाकः ।
कुल्लापसंततिलका लतिकामिवायं ॥
जीमूतरान इव विद्युत्सुल्लसती ।
श्रीमान्स पातु भगवानरविंदनामः ॥ २ ॥
भजामि भुवनाधारं हराकारं पर महः ।
यस्येव चंद्रिका ज्योत्स्ना कृष्णा रामा विराजते ॥ ३ ॥
कुल्लपत्रतप्तपत्रलोचना भक्तमकुलदयादयासरित् ।
शान्दसागरविचारबातुरो हेतुरीप्सितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ४ ॥
वैकुण्ठनाथपदपंकजलीनचित्र-
रोल्लभमंबरगुणागमसिद्धयुधि ॥
संदर्शनप्रदलितालिलकमयौघ- ।
नारायणं गुरुमनन्वयगुणं नमामि ॥ ५ ॥
भीहर्षोद्वेगभक्त्याम्यजलधिप्रोन्मयने मंदर-

प्रोद्दामाद्भूतशेषपेषलगिरा सारप्रसारप्रभुः ॥
 धाराधारकवित्त्वकौशलसमुल्लासिप्रभावाद्भुता ।
 शृगारादिरसाकुला हरिकवेर्वाणी समुजृभते ॥ ६ ॥
 अस्ति स्वतिकर समस्तजगतः क्षमापालमौलिस्फुरन् ।
 माणिक्यावलिकांतिकांतचरणः श्रीशंभुपृथिवीपतिः ।
 यस्य त्रस्यदरातिपालनपरस्यापीय गौणाकर ।
 पीयूष विबुधा विनिर्यदमृत निदंति सौधाकरं ॥ ७ ॥
 किं वर्ण्यं किल शैवस्य महिमा जगतीपते ।
 आकर्ण्यं यद्दान्यत्वमितरैस्तद्वितन्यते ॥ ८ ॥
 कर्पूरपूरविशदस्वयश सितसारसे ।
 ब्रह्मांडमडली येन भसली क्रियतेतरा ॥ ९ ॥
 तस्माज्ज्ञैव विबुधान्प्रतिनैजभाव- ।
 प्रोद्बोधनाय हरिणा किल तन्यतेस्य
 काव्यस्य तु स्वविहितस्य त्रिकाशिताय ।
 न्याख्या प्रभेव रविणा कमलाकरस्य ॥ १० ॥
 सदेहसतमसहरणैकदक्षा ।
 नानापदार्थनिभृतार्थविबोधिकेक्षा ॥
 ज्ञाताज्ञधूकबुधकोकसुशोकसौख्या ।
 विद्योतिनी जगति शशुविलासिकाख्या ॥ ११ ॥
 तस्माद्बुधाः सहृदयाः सदया भवत ।
 पश्यतु सादरमिमां कृतिरस्मदीयां ॥
 दोषास्त्रिरस्यतु गुणान्समुदस्य हृद्या ।
 कुर्वंतु चायमुदितो हि विदां स्वभावः १२ ॥ ”

Verse No. 1 in the above extract viz. “ श्रीमान्गर्जद्वदन ... सज्जिह्वानं
 is almost identical with verse No 2 in the चक्रपाणिक्विता extract quoted by
 me above from a stray folio found in the Ms of शमुराजचरित. So also verse
 No. 4. viz. “ फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना ददातु मे ” is almost identical with verse
 No. 3 of the चक्रपाणिक्विता fragment. It is possible that the brother चक्रपाणि
 in his enthusiasm to outdo his elder brother may have incorporated
 these verses from the latter's works without acknowledgement though the
 elder brother Hari Kavi had better sense of literary veracity as he has
 introduced all verses of his younger brother चक्रपाणि with the expression
 “ मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुः चक्रपाणेः ” in his *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*.

As this fragment of शशुविलासिका contains a portion of the commentary
 different from that found in Ms No 828 of 1875-76 it would be useful to

record the references to earlier works and authors noticed by me in my cursory reading of the Ms These references are:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) रुद्रट fol. 3, | (17) कविचरजगन्नाथाखण्डितरायापर-
नाम्नः कवे fol. 72, |
| (2) अमरः fol. 5, 6, 7, 10, etc. | (18) विश्वः fol. 44, 73, |
| (3) वाग्मट, वामन, दंड्यादि
अलङ्कारिकाकारैः fol. 3, | (19) अमरव्याख्याने क्षीरस्वामिना
fol. 73. |
| (4) वाग्मटे fol. 5, 6, 15, 23, 24, 25,
26, 27, 35, 38, 40, 41, 55, 57, | (20) स्तवराजे fol. 20, 73, |
| (5) नव्यमते fol. 5, | (21) भाष्योक्तेः fol. 14 |
| (6) वृत्तरत्नाकरे fol. 5, 69, | (22) रेवाखडे fol. 16, |
| (7) स्कादे fol. 6, | (23) व्यासतीर्थमाहात्म्ये fol. 10, |
| (8) पद्मपुराण fol. 8, | (24) वायुपुराणे fol. 18, 19, 20, |
| (9) कवचोक्तेः fol. 8, 17, | (25) श्रीमद्भागवते नवमस्कन्धे fol. 20, 34, |
| (10) कालिदास fol. 8, 12, | (26) कामशास्त्रे fol. 28, 51, 53, |
| (11) कल्पकवचपञ्चरादौ fol. 8, | (27) हैमः fol. 19, 31, 50, |
| (12) शारदातिलक fol. 10, | (28) वाल्मीकिकालिदासमुरारिमुख्याः कवीन्द्राः
fol. 21, |
| (13) वार्तिके fol. 10, | (29) महीपः 23, 24, 66, |
| (14) अभिधानरत्ने fol. 10, 11, 12, 14 15,
17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26 28, 30,
32, 33 39, 42, 43, 47, 61, | (30) कुचलयानंदे fol. 31, |
| (15) सप्तशत्यां fol. 11, | (31) समुच्चयसार fol. 37, |
| (16) आचार्यः fol. 11, | (32) तदुक्त अभिज्ञेन fol. 60. |

The above list of references combined with the list of references in the other fragment of this commentary given previously shows us the range of Hari Kavi's studies and in my opinion justifies the self-conscious and somewhat boastful reference to his capacities and attainments occasionally found in his works noticed above.

The hero of हैहयेन्द्रचरित is हैहयेन्द्र or कर्तवीर्य and his identity with King राघु is too transparent for the poet to hide behind apparently godly environment in which he has been put by the poet. The heroine is none other than चपा, who appears also to be the heroine of शंभुराजचरित as we have seen above in our analysis of this महाकाव्य. On folio 14 of this Ms the poet apparently discloses the identity of शंभुराज with हैहयेन्द्र in the following explanation—

“अथ त्वत्संभाषनाकरनेतरकाव्यकरणहेतुभूतशंभुनामकराजविशेष आचस्तद्वगरादिकं वर्णयति
पुरनिधि etc.”

The poet also refers to चपा as the नायिका of the poem in the following remarks on folios 29-30. —

“कुलशीलरूपादिगुणगणशालिचपानामकनायिकां वर्णयन्”

He also refers to this चपा as the beauty of the town of Surat in the following words on folio 50 :—

“तथा श्रीमान्महिरनगरस्य, शोभमानसूरपुरस्य, द्योतनकरां प्रकाशनकरां, शोभासमुत्पादिकामित्यर्थः ।”

This heroine is shown to have attained a marriageable age on folio 31 — “परमसुदरवराभिलशिनी एषा चपाख्या, षोडशवर्षिकी इति यावत्”

We have tried to prove from the statements of हरिकवि in the शम्भुराज-चरित that नारायण was both the गुरु and father of हरिकवि. This inference is clearly proved by the following statement of this poet in this commentary:—

Folio 68 — “श्री नारायणेति । श्री. सर्वविद्याज्ञानशोभासपञ्चतया युक्तो नारायणः, तन्नामको गुरुः पिता च”

We have also seen that Hari Kavi's family came from the Deccan and that both the father and the son were residents of Surat. Here is Hari Kavi's own explanation about his Deccani descent —

Folio 68 — “दाक्षिणात्येषु महाराष्ट्राभिधदक्षिणदिग्भवब्राह्मणेषु अन्वीयते युज्यते इति अन्वयो वशो यस्यास्तौ”

The colophon of Canto I appears as under on folio 68 and it is very important as it discloses for the first time in our study the popular name of the poet, which is भानुभट्ट — “इति श्रीसूर्यपूरस्थितश्रीमन्नारायणसूरिसूनु-प्रसिद्धभानुभट्टापरभिधहरिकविविरचिताया स्वकृतहैहयेंद्रचरिताख्यकाव्यव्याख्यायां श्रीशशुविला-शिकाख्याया प्रथम सर्ग समाप्त”. Perhaps this real name of the poet viz. भानुभट्ट may afford historians a better clue to trace the descendants in this family than the poetic name हरिकवि used throughout his works

Throughout this paper we have identified सूर्यपुर with modern Surat. Our identification is supported by Hari Kavi himself for on folio 74 he explains “सूरस्य सूर्यस्येदं सौर सूरताख्य प्रसिद्धाभिधमित्यर्थः”

and further he refers to the beauty of Surat in these words — “तापी-परिवारितसूरपूरशोभाया दुर्लभत्वात् इति भावः.”

On folio 75 he explains the reference to mountain महेन्द्र in the text of his Kāvya. — “महेन्द्रः कौकणदेशस्थः कुलपर्वतः.”

Ms No. 827 of 1875-76 — We now come to the fragment of the text of हैहयेंद्रकाव्य, the commentary on which we have noticed above in our

analysis of the two available fragments. This Ms consists of 39 folios, nos 1 to 20 comprising canto I and folios 20 to 40 comprising canto II. His poem appears to have been written in a sustained style in the classical fashion and in doing so the poet is apparently influenced by Agannātha Paṇḍitarāya, quotations of whose verses have been given by our poet in the Subhāsitahārāvalī. Here is his appreciation of Paṇḍitarāya's poetic composition on folio 21 of the present Ms —

कमलपटलस्फारत्स्फूर्जन्मनोहरसौरभो- ।
 न्मदमधुकरश्रेणीसिंजालमुद्गतमाधुरी ।
 न हि सुभगता लोके विदित्यनेकगुणाद्भुतां ।
 कविवरजगन्नाथोदंचद्वचो रचनावले ॥ ”

The poet refers to नारायण गुरु in verse 8 of this Kāvya which begins in folio 2 with —

“ नमः श्रीमन्नारायणगुरुपदाभोजरजसे ” and ends “ प्रकाशंते काम कविवरकृता-
 कृतयः ”

On folio 4 the following verses 24 and 25 appear and I find they appear in the शंभुराजचरित with identical verse numbers. These verses are.—

“ इहासीद्वासीर रुचिरतनुमाजां त्रिभुवने ।
 शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुणः ।
 यमालोक्योत्फुल्लद्विपुलनयनोद्वीर्णनिमिषा ।
 समुत्कीर्णाभित्ताविवसमभवत्सर्ववनिताः ॥ २४ ॥
 सुधासिंधुं प्राप्य श्रवणविवराधद्गुणमयी- ।
 मिनामत्नद्वक्त्र किरति मरणीं वाक्यमरणीं ।
 सुधीरो गभीरो विपुलधिपणोऽत्यंतरमणो ।
 वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते ॥ २५ ॥ ”

The following verse 29 is identical with verse 26 in the शंभुराजचरित referred to by us in the beginning of this paper :—

“ प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा- ।
 महः पुंजपद्मादिव परमसौरम्यनिवहः ।
 सुधाशुः क्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुनंदनवना- ।
 दिवायं संभूतं क्लृप्त शिवनृपालभृन्नृपतिः ॥ २७ ॥ ”

As in the case of the commentary on this Kāvya, Hari Kavi states that he got the order of the King Śambhu to compose the हैहयेन्द्रचरितः—

“ असुप्याज्ञा प्राप्य स्वकपकलप्रापप्रदत्तये ।
 तथा साधन्यार्थं ललितललितानां निजगिरा ।

सहस्रारांशस्याप्यमरजयिलकेशजयिनो ।

वर राज्ञा राज्ञश्चरितमहमीष्यस्परिगुणे ॥ ३० ॥”

We get more description of the heroine चंपा in this Kāvya and her matchless beauty, news of which reached the King who began to pine for her hand.—

Folio 12— “कदाचित्तस्यासीद्ध्रुवणतलपर्यंकनिलया ।

कुलीनानालीकद्युतिहरमुखी कापि कमनी ।

समाख्या चंपेति न्यगमदिह या शोभनतमा ।

तमास्युद्यत्कात्या शमयति हि चापेयसमया ॥ ७२ ॥

विधाता चंपाख्या त्रिभुवनपताकामिव हि या ।

विधायासौ कृपा कलयति परानदजलधौ ।”

Folio 16— “हृतीमा नि सीमा प्रवरगुणगभीरवसति ।

कुरंगाक्षी श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरोद्योतनकरी ।

प्रभाश्रेणीं मुक्तामिव स्वामिना स्वीयनगरे ।

स राजा कस्माच्चित्समविहितचेता समदृणोत् ॥ १०२ ॥”

folio 17— “स भूपश्चंद्राभामिव मनसि चंपा परिदधन् ।

न लेभे शर्मोपि etc. ”

Persons interested in the King's welfare got busy and we find a Brahman approaching the King with a letter from Surat from चंपा's father—

“तदा तत्रापश्यत्करनिहितपत्रं नवतरं ।

स त विप्र श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरादागतमिह ॥”

Canto I ends on folios 20-21 as follows:—

“श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितिर्हरिकविर्विद्याविनोदोज्ज्वल- ।

श्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुविय सदाक्षिणात्पान्वय ।

भायोगादनवद्यपथरचना चातु (र्य) विद्योदिते ।

तत्कान्ये खलु हैहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः ॥ १३४ ॥

॥ श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुविरचिते विजयाके हैहयेन्द्रचरिताख्ये महाकान्ये

हैहयेन्द्रगुणवर्णनो नाम प्रथम सर्ग ॥”

The parentage of चंपा is given in the following verses on folio 22. श्रीकृष्ण was a King of Surat. In his line was born तपोकांत the father of चंपा, the heroine of the poem. This तपोकांत or तपिकाकांत despatched a letter to हैहयेन्द्र offering the hand of चंपा to him through a Brahman messenger, who was his गुरु, and inviting him to his capital with all his royal paraphernalia. —

“ परमिह पुरं सौरं श्रीमल्लसति त्विषा ।
 रुचिरतया तापीभगावलीवलयावृतं ॥
 अमरनगरीशोभामंगीकरोति यदुद्भवां ।
 जगितिजगती यांती गगां निवेश्य निजांगणे ॥ ८ ॥
 अवसदमलः श्रीकळाख्यो नृपोत्रविहावै
 स्वजनिजगतीं तापीसेवापरायमानसः ।
 सुरभिरभितस्तापीकाताख्ययाभवदुद्भटः ।
 सुभटनिकरा सेन्यस्तस्यां महोन्नतया तया ॥ ९ ॥
 नरपरिवृद्धः पूर्वं योभून्महेन्द्रकुलाचल- ।
 स्थितिरतिमहान्नानारत्नाकरप्रभुरद्भुतः ॥
 भगणितगुणोदारः सारोन्नतो वरविक्रम ।
 स्वविभवलवक्रीडाक्रीतालकाधिपशेवधिः ॥ १० ॥
 किल तनुभवा तस्यादित्योद्भवानुतिसंभवा ।
 चपलनयना चपाख्येय सखी मम वर्तते ।
 त्रिभुवनकृता या निर्माय स्वनिर्मितशोभिनीं ।
 कनककमनीं स्व चातुर्यं पर प्रकटीकृत ॥ ११ ॥ ”

folio 38 — “ श्रीमदत्ताभिधगुरुवरेष्वेव विज्ञप्तियुक्तः ।
 नानासूक्तोचतिनतियुतस्तापिकाकातलेखः । ”

folio 39 — “ एतच्चेय चपलनयना चंपकश्रेणिरम्या ।
 चपेत्वाख्या मम हि दुहिता राजराजाय दत्ता ॥
 तन्मे यूय विपदधिपणाधारिणो विज्ञवयो ।
 मान्या लोकैर्विपुलकरुणासिंधवोर्गीकुरुध्वं ॥ ११८ ॥ ”

— “ आगंतव्य विबुधमणिभिः तं गृहीत्वा सुसैन्यं ”

— “ पद्मीमेवं विबुधमुकुट सप्रकाश्यादिदेश ”

The fragment ends as under .—

“ श्रीनारायणसूरितो हरिकवि देव्यन्नपूर्णा स्वयं ।
 यं चासूत सुधासमानवचन सत्यादपचाश्रय ॥
 पूर्णोद्भूतनवयपत्तरचना चातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
 तत्कान्ये खलु हृदयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो द्वितीयामिधः ॥

श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्तिवश्रीनारायणसूरिस्तुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके श्रीहृदयेन्द्रचरितारूपे
 महाकाव्ये — ”

In the last verse of canto II quoted above we find for the first time the name of the mother of Hari Kavi mentioned, which is अन्नपूर्णा, because the verse states “ *Annapūrṇā gave birth to Hari Kavi from Nārāyaṇasūri.* ”

In the above analysis of all the available fragmentary Mss of Hari Kavi's works we have tried to lay bare some historical information but have not attempted to identify or verify the same from other historical sources. Such an attempt must be made independently by scholars interested in the history of the period to which King Sambhāji belongs. We have attempted in the present study to give a rough sketch of Hari Kavi and his works written under the patronage of King Sambhāji.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT

HISTORICAL NAMES

Mentioned by Hari Kavi

अश्वपूर्णा—mother of Hari Kavi

कृष्णपदित } the *guru* of King Sambhāji probably identical with
or कृष्ण } Kavi Kalaśa.
or कविकृष्णपदित }

चपा or चपावती--the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हैहयेन्द्रचरित and the beauty of the town of Surat.

चक्रपाणि—younger brother of Hari Kavi,

चिंतामणि—Great Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

तापी—river at Surat.

तापीकांत--father of चपा, the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हैहयेन्द्रचरित.

दत्त--Brahman messenger sent by तापीकांत with a letter proposing the marriage of his daughter चपा with King Sambhāji.

नारायण or नारायणसूरि--The *guru* and father of Hari Kavi.

जगन्नाथ (पदितराय)--appreciated and quoted by Hari Kavi.

पद्मनाभ--Uncle of Hari Kavi and elder brother of Hari Kavi's father नारायण.

भानुमट्ट--popular name of Hari Kavi.

महाराष्ट्र--mentioned by Hari Kavi as the province to which his family belonged.

मिहिरनगर or मिहिरपत्तन or तपननगर or तपनपत्तन--Same as सूर्यपुर or Surat.

रंगनाथ--Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

शनु, शंभुराज, शंभुपति--identical with the Maratha King Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great.

शंभुराजचरित--composed in A. D. 1685 by Hari Kavi by the order of कृष्णपदित, the *guru* of King Sambhāji (शंभुराज)

शिवभूष or शिव — father of शंभुराज or Sambhāji, identical with Shivrāji the Great.

श्रीकच्छ — ancestor of तापीकांत of Surat, father of चंपा.

सत्यादास — the Governor of Surat (called तपनपत्तनाधिपति in the शंभुराजचरित).

सुभाषितहारावलि — an encyclopaedic anthology compiled by Hari Kavi.

सूर्यजासेवक or तपनजादास — father of चंपा in शंभुराजचरित, perhaps identical with तापीकांत.

सूर्यपुर or सूरपुर or सूरत — identical with modern Surat, town of Hari Kavi's residence.

हरिकवि (alias भानुभट्ट) — author of शंभुराजचरित, हैहयेन्द्रचरित and commentary, and सुभाषितहारावलि.

हैहयेन्द्रचरित — a mahākāvya composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.

हैहयेन्द्रचरितटीका — called शंभुविलासिका composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.



14. Date of *Sabhyālamkāraṇa*, an Anthology

by Govindajit — After A. D. 1656 *

The only MS of a work "*Sabhyālamkāraṇa*" mentioned by Aufrecht¹ is "Rg 417 (fr), which is identical with MS No. 417 of 1884-87 in the Govt. MSS Library at B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report*² for 1887-91 does not deal with the date of this work. As this work is a rhetorical anthology of verses from various poets and works, it has its place in the history of the mediaeval Sanskrit anthologies. I propose, therefore, to analyse the only MS of *Sabhyālamkāraṇa* viz. No. 417 of 1884-87 and indicate my evidence regarding the limits for its date.

The work is divided into numerous sections called *maricis* or rays. The name of the author is Govindajit³. He was the son of *Caku* and was resident of *Giripura*.⁴ He belonged to the *Mevādā* caste of *Medapāṭa* (Mewad) as will be seen from the following statements.

folio 2 — " इति गिरिपुरनिवासिभट्टचक्रतनयम् (?) गोविंदजित्समृद्धीते etc. "

folio 3 — { " इति गिरिपुरवर्तिभट्टचक्रतनयश्रीमेदपाठमध्यस्थभट्टमेवाडाज्ञातीय भट्ट-
गोविंदजित्कृते सारसग्रहे etc. "

The title of the work is *सभ्यालंकारण* (colophon on folio 9) or *सभ्याभरण*⁵ (Colophon on folio 3). The work is compiled somewhat on the lines of the *Rasikajivana*⁶ of Gadādharaḥbhatta. In fact one Gadādhara is mentioned as the author of some verses quoted on folios 12 and 34.

The following works and authors have been mentioned in the fragment of the *Sabhyālamkāraṇa* before us —

* *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. IV, No. 11, February 1912, pp 366-369

1 CC, II. 166 — Aufrecht mentions another work called *सभ्यरुष्टाभरण* which seems to be different from *सभ्यालंकारण*.

2. Vide pp lxii-lxiii of *Report for 1887-91* — Here we find merely a list of works and authors mentioned in the fragment of *Sabhyālamkāraṇa*.

3 According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar "*Govindajit*" is a Sanskritized form of "*Govindaji*."

4. I wonder if *Giripura* is identical with *Gir naṭara* or *Girnar* in Junagad State.

5. Aufrecht (CC I, 636) records a *Kāvya* of the title *सभ्याभरण* by Rāmacandra with a commentary by Govinda (B. 2.110). I cannot say if this commentator Govinda is identical with Govindajit, the author of *सभ्यालंकारण*.

6 V. is my paper on the *Rasikajivana* (*Annals B. O. P. I* Vol. XII, p 396).

- (1) भानुकर — fol. 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37.
- (2) विल्वमगल — fol. 1, 17.
- (3) शिवस्वामिन् — fol. 2.
- (4) नीलकण्ठ — fol. 2, 12, 13, 23, 36.
- (5) अमरक — fol. 2, 4, 18, 21, 27, 30, 36, 37.
- (6) श्रीहर्ष — fol. 2, 8, 13, 15, 24, 29.
- (7) राजशेखर — fol. 2, 4, 11, 12, 18, 20, 21, 30, 34, 36.
- (8) बालभारत — fol. 2, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34.
- (9) भट्टकमलाकर — fol. 3.
- (10) नीपाभट्ट — fol. 3, 17.
- (11) घटखर्पर — fol. 4.
- (12) भानुक — fol. 4, 21.
- (13) गोविंदजिह्म — fol. 8.
- (14) अमरचन्द्र — fol. 8, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31.
- (15) गणपति — fol. 8, 16, 18, 24, 35.
- (16) भानुकरमिश्र — fol. 8.
- (17) विद्वहण — fol. 8, 16, 26, 33, 37.
- (18) लक्ष्मण — fol. 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34.
- (19) रुद्र — fol. 8, 14, 21, 37.
- (20) भवभूति — fol. 9, 32, 36.
- (21) धर्मदास — fol. 10.
- (22) कालिदास — fol. 10, 16, 18, 32.
- (23) गोवर्द्धन — fol. 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 31, 37.
- (24) दंडिन् — fol. 12.
- (25) गदाधर — fol. 12, 34.
- (26) त्रिविक्रम — fol. 12, 25, 32.
- (27) नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल¹ — fol. 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 36, 37.
- (28) शकटुद्दि — fol. 14, 32.
- (29) नारायण — fol. 15.
- (30) रामसमूह² — fol. 15 (composed in A. D. 1457).

1 Nilakantha Śūla is the author of the *Curant-Curita* composed in A. D. 1656 [vide my paper in the *Annals* (B. O. R. L.) Vol IX, pp. 231-252]. The work चिमनीचरितं mentioned by Gonnadajit on folio 29 of the MS is identical with चिमनीचरितं. I have evidence to prove that Nilakantha was a pupil of Bhattoji Dikṣita.

2 Vide my paper on Ramasamūha (*Jour. of Ori. Research*, Madras, Vol. XIV, Pt. 1, pp. 74-81). A Gujarati rendering of my paper has been published by my friend Rao Br. P. C. DIVANJI, M. A., LL. M. recently.

- (31) निर्मल — fol 31.
 (32) सुरारि — fol 17, 24, 27, 30, 31.
 (33) भावमिश्र — fol 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27.
 (34) प्रभाकरभट्ट — fol. 19.
 (35) शृंगारतिलक — fol. 21.
 (36) भैयाभट्ट — fol 21.
 (37) लक्ष्मणभट्ट — fol. 22
 (38) अमर — fol 22.
 (39) भारवि — fol 23, 26, 29, 31.
 (40) माघ — fol 23, 26, 29, 31.
 (41) महानाटक — fol 24.
 (42) वेदव्यास — fol. 25.
 (43) भास — fol 43.
 (44) राघवानन्ददेवानाम् — fol 26.
 (45) क्षेमेन्द्र — fol 26.
 (46) किरात — fol 26.
 (47) वररुचि — fol. 26.
 (48) जयमाधव — fol 26, 32, 35.
 (49) उड्डीय कवि — fol. 26.
 (50) गोपादित्य — fol 26.
 (51) भानुपंडित — fol. 27.
 (52) भोजप्रबंध — fol. 28, 30, 34.
 (53) भट्ट सोमेश्वर — fol 28.
 (54) विकटनिवंशा — fol. 28.
 (55) चिमनीशतक — fol. 29. (= चिमनीचरित of नीलकण्ठ)
 (56) शार्ङ्गधर — fol 29.
 (57) भर्तृहरि — fol. 29, 34.
 (58) हरिहर — fol. 30.
 (59) कविराज — fol 32.
 (60) पाणिनि — fol. 32.
 (61) रघुपति — fol. 33.
 (62) राहुक (?) — fol 33.
 (63) पाणिनिभ्र — fol. 33
 (64) चाटमीठि — fol 34
 (65) कुमारदास — fol 37.

The above list is sufficient to show the sources of the present anthology. The reference to Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara on folio 3 furnishes us with a clue about the limit to the date of this anthology. If this Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara is identical with the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu* (composed in A. D. 1612) we can safely presume that Govindajit composed his anthology after A. D. 1612.

A more exact reference, however, for purposes of chronology will be found on folio 29, where a work called "चिमनीशतक" is mentioned. This work appears to be identical with the work चिमनीचरित by Nilakaṇṭha Śukla of which two MSS are available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. I have proved in my note¹ on this work that it was composed in *Samvat 1712* = A. D. 1656. The verse from the *Cimanīśataka* quoted by Govindajit on folio 29 of the MS of the *Sabhyālaṃkāraṇa* is identical with verse 99 of the *Cimanīcarita* (MS No. 698 of 1886-92). This identity clearly proves that Govindajit composed his anthology after A. D. 1656. The other limit to the date of *Sabhyālaṃkāraṇa* cannot be definitely fixed at present but as the MS of the work appears to be about 150 years old we may tentatively assign Govindajit to the first quarter of the 18th century, if not later.

1. *Vide Annals (B. O. R. I.) XII, p. 336.*

15. Date of Keśavabhaṭṭa of Puṇyastambha, the Author of Nṛsiṃhacampū And other Works —

Between c. A. D. 1450 and 1575 *

My friend Prof. N A Gore intends to bring out a critical edition of the *Nṛsiṃha Campū* of Daivajña Sūryapandita. He has asked me to fix the date of another *Nṛsiṃha Campū* by Keśavabhaṭṭa of Puṇyastambha as there is some resemblance between the two *Campūs*. I have great pleasure in recording the following evidence about Keśava and his works, which may enable us to fix his date within as narrow limits as possible —

Prof. Dr. G. V. Devasthali describes some MSS of the works of Keśava in his *Catalogue of the Bombay University MSS* (1944—Vols. I and II) —

Vol. I, p 348 — MS No. 963 — अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of केशव, a manual of funeral rites composed by Keśava, son of Anantabhaṭṭa of the *Laugākṣī* family and a resident of Puṇyastambha (modern Puntāmbe in the Ahmadnagar Dist. of Bombay State). नृसिंहचम्पू and न्यायचन्द्रिका are other works of this author Cf. Velankar No 1249 and India office Nos. 4053-54 and 5769-76.

This MS was copied by Sakhārāma Ābābhaṭṭa Pāṭhaka in Śaka 1699 = A D 1777. The work quotes from विधानमाला

The MS begins. —

“यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतलं परिचुत यः सर्वविद्यानिधि
श्रीलौगाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणिमाध्यन्दिनि केशव ।
य प्राप्त सदाशिवाग्रिभ्रमलद्वन्द्वैरुनिष्ठ पर
भट्टानन्तमह नमामि पितर साम्य कृपाम्भोनिधिम् ॥ १ ॥
नानानिवन्धानालोक्य पुण्यस्तम्बपुर. (om.) स्थित ।
अन्त्येष्टिपद्धतिं भट्टकेशव. प्राह निर्मलाम् ॥ २ ॥”

The MS ends —

“इति माध्यन्दिनीय लौगाक्षिगोत्र (or त्रा) नन्तभट्टसुतकेशवे नै वा (?)
विरचितान्येष्टिपद्धति समाप्ता ॥”

Vol. II, p. 780 — MS No 2237 — नृसिंहचम्पू of केशव is a small *Campū* in 6 chapters narrating the story of Nṛsiṃhāvatāra composed by

* See Śrī Keśavananda Commemoration Volume, 1952, pp 129-137.

Keśava of the *Laugākṣi* family, a resident of Puṇyastambha on the bank of the Godāvarī (For other MSS see Velankar No. 1249 and India Office No. 4053). Keśava wrote another work on this topic known as *प्रह्लादचम्पू* written at the command of king Umāpati Dalapati (cf. India office No. 4054 and Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices*, No. 1427). For quotations from the work see Ind. Office No. 4053. Keśava composed two more works, the *न्यायचन्द्रिका* (see No 1992) and *अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति* (see No. 963)

Vol. II, p. 669 — *MS No 1992* न्यायचन्द्रिका of के॒शव This is an elementary treatise on Indian logic composed by Keśava who is different from Keśava, the author of *Tarkabhāṣa*. For our author's *अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति* see MS No 963 above

As *MS No. 963* (*अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति*) of Keśava is dated A. D. 1777 we may push his date to a period which is earlier than about A. D. 1750.

The Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute possesses some MSS of Keśava's works. I record below the evidence of these MSS bearing on the history and chronology of Keśava's works.—

(I) *MSS of नृसिंहचम्पू*.—

- (1) *MS No. 413 of 1887-91*—नृसिंहचम्पू This MS is dated *Samvat 1750* (= A. D. 1694)
- (2) *MS No. 144 of 1882-83* — नृसिंहचम्पू — MS dated *Samvat 1854* (= A. D. 1798)
- (3) *MS No. 367 of 1884-87* — नृ चम्पू — MS dated *Samvat 1855* (= A. D. 1799).
- (4) *MS No. 186 of 1879-80* — नृ चम्पू — MS dated *Samvat 1845* (= A. D. 1789).
- (5) *MS No. 101 of A. of 1882-83* — नृ चम्पू — not dated.
- (6) *MS No. 625 of 1882-83* — नृ चम्पू — not dated.
- (7) *MS No. 162 of 1902-07* — नृ चम्पू — dated *Śaka 1705* (= A. D. 1783).
- (8) *MS No. 27 of 1870-71* — नृ चम्पू — not dated.
- (9) *MS No. 52 of 1871-72* — नृ चम्पू — dated *Śaka 1717* (= A. D. 1795).
- (10) *MS No 714 of 1886-92* — नृ चम्पू — not dated.
- (11) *MS No. 514 of 1891-95* — नृ चम्पू — not dated.

(12) *MS No. 513 of 1891-95* - नृ चम्पू - MS dated *Samvat 1839*
(= A. D 1783).

We have thus MSS of नृ चम्पू bearing dates A. D. 1694, 1783, 1789,
1795, 1798, 1799.

All these MSS are described by me in Volume XIII, Part III of the
Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt MSS library (B. O. R.
Institute, Poona, 1950) pages 355-368.

(II) *MSS of न्यायचन्द्रिका* :—

(1) *MS No. 796 of 1887-91* - not dated.

(2) *MS No 138 of 1871-72* - MS dated samv 1706 (=A. D. 1650) 1

(3) *MS No 206 of 1899-1915* - not dated.

(III) *MSS of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति* —

MS No. 130 of 1886-92 - not dated. The MS begins exactly like the
Bombay University MS of this work (No. 963) and is
incomplete (15 folios) The last folio 16 contains a
different work. There are colophons in the body of the
text mentioning the name केशव, son of अनत

The author refers to a few earlier authors and their works, such as
याज्ञवल्क्य. (fol 7), अगिर (fol 7), “मदनपारिजाते। पाराशरमाधवीये” (fol. 10),
भविष्यत्पुराणे (fol. 10), गौतम (fol 10), गालव (fol. 10); आपस्तम्ब (fol. 11),
न्यास (fol. 10), वाराहपुराण (fol. 12), पैटीनसिः (fol. 14); शिवस्वामिमत (fol 13),
दीपिका (fol. 14), रेणुकाकारिका (fol 14), विश्वदर्श (fol. 15) etc.

The dates of some of these works as given by Dr. P. V. Kane in his
History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. I (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930) are as
follows —

Page 339 - (1) मदनपारिजात by Madanapāla - Between A. D 1360 and 1390.

Page 330 - (2) पाराशरमाधवीय by Mādhavācārya - Between A. D 1335-1360.

Page 731 - (3) रेणुकाकारिका by रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेशसूरि, son of सोमेश्वर of the
शाण्डिल्यगोत्र - A. D. 1266

1 This date is recorded in the following colophon of the MS —

“इति केशवभट्टरिचिता न्यायचन्द्रिका संपूर्णा ॥ ८ ॥ सवत् १७०६ वर्षे । आपाद सुदि ५
दिने ॥ पादशाहश्रीअन्नरज्जालदीनमूर्खसहस्रनामाभ्यापकश्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थस्वामोचनायानसमुत्तानिवापक-
महोपाध्यायश्रीभानुचन्द्रगणेशिष्याष्टोत्तरशताय वानसावनप्रसुदिनपादशाहश्रीअन्नरज्जालदीनप्रदत्तपुद्गलमा-
परानिधानमहोपाध्यायश्रीनिजिचन्द्रगणिना लिप्तापिता प्रनिरियम् ॥ श्री मीरोहीनगरे ॥ महारायश्री-
अनवरज्जालदीनप्रदत्तपुद्गलमा ॥ श्रीरम्भु ॥ न ॥ ”

Page 625—(4) विष्वादर्श by कविकान्तसरस्वती—later than A. D. 1100 and earlier than A. D. 1200.

In view of the above evidence and in particular in view of the reference to मदनपारिजात (between A. D. 1360 and 1390) by our author Keśava we can definitely say that he is later than c. A. D. 1400, which is, therefore, the earlier limit for the dates of his works. The later limit is furnished by the B. O. R. Institute MS of न्यायचन्द्रिका (No. 138 of 1871–72) which is dated Samvat 1706 (A. D. 1650). The India office MS of Keśava's नृसिंहचम्पू mentioned below is dated A. D. 1627. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that Keśava flourished between c. A. D. 1450 and 1575.

The India office Library Catalogue, Vol. I, Part VII (by Eggeling, London, 1904) contains description (on pp. 1548–49) of two MSS of नृसिंहचम्पू of Keśava viz. No. 4053 and No. 4054. Of these two MSS No. 4054 is dated A. D. 1627 (Samvat 1684).

Burnell's Catalogue of Tanjore MSS (1879), p. 118, contains description of a MS of a commentary on the Tarkabhāṣā of Keśava Miśra c. A. D. 1275). The name of this commentator is Keśavabhaṭṭa, son of Ananta and the commentary is called Tarkadīpikā. These details are recorded in verses 1 and 2 at the beginning of the work, which are quoted by Burnell as follows —

“ यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतल परिपुतम्, यस्तर्कविद्यानिधि-
श्रीलोकाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणिर्माण्यन्दिनी केशवः ।
य प्राप्तुं सदाशिव . . कमलद्वन्द्वैकनिष्ठ परम्
भट्टानन्तमहं नमामि पितरं साम्बं कृपाभोनिधिम् ॥ १ ॥
सकलन्यायसिद्धान्त भवगम्य यथामति ।
भट्टश्रीकेशवेनैषा क्रियते तर्कदीपिका ॥ २ ॥ ”

It is clear from these verses that Keśavabhaṭṭa, the author of नृसिंहचम्पू, अन्त्योष्टिपद्धति and न्यायचन्द्रिका is also the author of the commentary तर्कदीपिका on Keśava Miśra's तर्कभाषा (c. A. D. 1275 ¹ according to scholars).

Our author Keśava Miśra composed another Campū called प्रह्लादचम्पू, a MS of which has been described by Rajendralal Mitra, Notices Vol. IV, pp. 12–13, MS No. 1427. Mitra describes this work as “ A poetico-prose romance, founded on the story of Prahlāda, a youth who, born in a Śaiva family, displayed under peculiarly trying circumstances, the most un-

¹ Vide p. 271 of Madhyasyugina Candaravata by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937, and History of Indian Logic by Vidyabhusan, p. 501.

flinching devotion to Vaiṣṇavism by Keśava Paṇḍita.

The MS begins —

“ कनकरुचिदुकूल कुण्डलोच्छासि गण्ड.
 शमितभुवनभारः कोऽपि लीलावतार ।
 त्रिभुवनसुखकारी शैलधारी मुकुन्दः
 परिकलितरथाङ्गो मङ्गल नस्तनोतु ॥ १ ॥
 यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतल परिवृत यस्त्वंविद्यानिधिः
 श्रीलौगाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणि माध्यन्दिनः केशव ।
 यं प्रासूत सदाशिवाङ्घ्रिकमलद्वन्द्वैकनिष्ठ पर
 भट्टानन्तमह नमामि पितर साम्ब कृपाम्भोनिधिं ॥ २ ॥
 किं भोजः किमु विक्रम किमपर कर्णावतीर्ण, कलौ
 सर्वेषामिति यत्र धीर्भवति स क्षोणीतले नन्दति ।
 शूरः श्रीमदुमापतिर्दलपति गोविन्दभक्तिप्रियः
 श्रीमत्केशवपण्डितो वितनुते चम्पू तदीयाज्ञया ”

Colophon — “ इति श्रीमत्केशवपण्डितकृते ब्रह्मादचम्पूकाव्ये चतुर्थस्तवक समाप्तोऽय । ”

The above MS contains 214 Ślokas and is dated *Samvat 1869* (*A. D.* 1813). It belongs to Govt. of India Prof Gore may get it on loan from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and see if this ब्रह्मादचम्पू is identical with नृसिंहचम्पू or is a different work.

Aufrecht makes the following entries about Keśava and Keśava-bhaṭṭa —

Cata. Catalogorum, Part I, p. 127—

“ केशव son of Ananta, Laṅgākṣikula, of Puṇyastambha.

—ज्ञानन्दवृन्दावनचम्पू N. P. X, 16

—नृसिंहचम्पू

—ब्रह्मादचम्पू written by request of king Umāpati Dalapati

केशवभट्ट Son of Ananta Bhaṭṭa .

तर्कदीपिका a comm on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśavamīśra
 Burnell 118a ”

I have proved above that केशव the author of नृसिंहचम्पू, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, न्यायचन्द्रिका, and ब्रह्मादचम्पू is also the author of तर्कदीपिका represented by the Tanjore MS described by Burnell on p 118 of his *Catalogue of Tanjore MSS*. I could not get detailed description of ज्ञानन्दवृन्दावनचम्पू mentioned as Kesava's work by Aufrecht. A MS of this work (N P X, 16 of Aufrecht's entry) is mentioned in the *Catalogue of North Western MSS* by Sudhākara Dvivedi,

Part X (Allahabad, 1886) p. 16. The details of this MS as given by Dvivedi are as follows –

आनन्दचन्द्रावनचम्पू—A *Campū* with commentary of Keśava – 388 leaves – 16,000 Ślokas – on paper in Devanāgarī characters – in the possession of Bhāgavatācārī of Benares – Old, complete and correct.”

If this description is correct the MS contains the *Campū* and its commentary by one Keśava. It is not clear if this Keśava is identical with Keśava, the author of *Nṛsiṃhacampū* and other works.

The evidence recorded so far gives us the following information about our author —

- (1) His name was केशव. His father's name was अनन्त
- (2) He belonged to लौगाक्षिकुल and माध्यन्दिन ब्राम्णाय.
- (3) He was proficient in मीमांसा, तर्क, साहित्य, etc.
- (4) He was the resident of पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern *Puntūmbe* in the Ahmadnagar Dist. of the Bombay state) on the banks of river Godā.
- (5) He composed नृसिंहचम्पू and प्रह्लादचम्पू by the order of his patron उमापतिदलपति, son of गोविन्ददलपति
- (6) He composed also अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, न्यायचन्द्रिका, तर्कदीपिका and possibly आनन्दचन्द्रावनचम्पू.
- (7) He flourished definitely between A. D. 1400 and A. D. 1600 and approximately between A. D. 1450 and 1575, a period of about 125 years. This period can be narrowed down if we can identify his patron उमापति दलपति, son of गोविन्द दलपति¹

Very probably उमापति दलपति, the patron of Keśavabhaṭṭa residing at Puntūmbe in the Ahmadnagar District between c. A. D. 1450 and 1575 belonged to the family of दलपति, son of वल्लभ and author of the work on dharmaśāstra called नृसिंहप्रसाद composed between A. D. 1490 and 1512. The points of similarity which go to connect these two *Dalapatis* may be represented in the following table. —

1. Dr P. V. Kane has devoted section 99 of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1920) to a work on Dharmaśāstra called नृसिंहप्रसाद by दलपति or दलाधीश्वर son of वल्लभ and of the भारद्वाजगोत्र and याज्ञवल्क्यशास्त्रा. This दलपति was a great exponent of वैष्णवधर्म. He was the pupil of सूर्यपण्डित and the chief minister and keeper of records of Nīlmaṇah, ruler of देवगिरि. नृसिंहप्रसाद was composed between A. D. 1490 and 1512 (page 410).

उमापति दलपति Patron of Keśavabhāṭṭa	दलपतिराज, author of नृसिंहप्रसाद
<p>(1) He was the patron of केशवभट्ट between c. A. D. 1450 and 1575.</p> <p>(2) He was possibly दलपति in the army of some king ruling at Ahmadnagar between A. D. 1450 and 1575. His protégé केशवभट्ट resided at पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntāmba in the Ahmadnagar District).</p> <p>(3) He was devoted to god नृसिंह and is called "गोविंदभक्तिप्रिय" in Keśava's प्रह्लादचम्पू. केशव composed नृसिंहचम्पू and प्रह्लादचम्पू by his order. These works illustrate unflinching devotion to god Govinda.</p> <p>(4) His father's name was गोविंद दलपति.</p>	<p>(1) He composed नृसिंहप्रसाद between A. D. 1490 and 1512.</p> <p>(2) He was the chief Minister and Keeper of Records of Ahmad Nizam Shah, who ruled at Ahmadnagar between A. D. 1490 and 1508.</p> <p>(3) God नृसिंह was the family deity of दलपतिराज, who calls his work नृसिंहप्रसाद and invokes god नृसिंह at the beginning of each section of नृसिंहप्रसाद (the fruit of the grace of god नृसिंह).</p> <p>(4) He was a Brahmin of भारद्वाजकुल and याज्ञवल्क्यशाखा. He was the son of वल्लभ and a great exponent of वैष्णवधर्म.</p>

It would seem from the above table that उमापति दलपति is connected with दलपतिराज the author of the नृसिंहप्रसाद and his family. "दलपति" indicates a title of an army officer in command of a body of troops. Later on it may have become a family name of persons. At present the surname "दलपति" corresponds to the name "दलपति" current in the 15th and 16th century in the Deccan. The author of the नृसिंहप्रसाद being a prominent member of the "दलपति" family appears to have been called "दलपतिराज," whom I have identified¹ with "Dalpat Rai" mentioned in the *Burhan-i-Masir* as aspiring after the office of the Prime Minister of Ahmad Nizam Shah (A. D. 1490-1508). There is possibility of उमापति दलपति being identical with दलपतिराज if we presume that गोविंद the father of उमापति, and वल्लभ, the father of दलपतिराज, are identical persons. Even if this

1. Vide my paper in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1933*, pp. 313-315.

possibility is not accepted it is possible to suggest that उमापति दलपति and दलपतिराज were important Hindu officers, who were great patrons of learning, in the employ of the Muslim kings,¹ who ruled at Ahmadnagar from A. D. 1460 to 1637. A Hindu grandee called सावाजी प्रतापराज composed an encyclopaedic work on Dharmaśāstra called the परशुरामप्रताप. He was patronized by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar (A. D. 1508–1554) as I have proved in a special paper (*Annals*, B. O. R. Institute, 1914, vol. XXIV, pp. 156–164).

Punyastambha or Puntāmbhe, the native place of our author Keśavabhaṭṭa was a great centre of learning for centuries. अनन्तपण्डित,² son of त्र्यम्बकपण्डित, composed his commentary व्यङ्ग्यार्थकौमुदी on रसमञ्जरी at Benares in A. D. 1636. He was also a resident of पुण्यस्तम्भ. राघव आप्पा खाटेकर who flourished between c. A. D. 1775 and 1820 and composed many Sanskrit works was also a native of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Vide my paper on this author in *Annals* B. O. R. Institute, 1943, Vol. XXIV pp 27–44). महादेव पुणतावेकर (c. A. D. 1700) the great logician continued the tradition of our author Keśavabhaṭṭa in the study of logic and composed some works on logic (Vide p 486 of *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyabhushan). He also hailed from Punyastambha or Puntāmbhe. The real history of the contribution of Mahārāṣṭra to Sanskrit learning is yet to be written. For this purpose we must fix up the chronology of every author belonging to different centres of learning in Mahārāṣṭra, whose works have come down to us and are represented by manuscripts in public libraries and in private collections, which remain still untapped.

1 Vide article on Nizari Shahs Kings of Ahmadnagar in *Madhyajugina Caritakohā* by S. Chitray, Poona, 1937, page 491.

2 Vide p. 578 of *History of Sanskrit Poetics* by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1951.

16. Chronology of Dharmapradīpa And Bhojavyākaraṇa Composed Under the Patronage of Rao

Bhojarāja of Kaccha — A. D. 1631-1645 *

Dr. P. V. Kane makes the following remarks about a King of the name Bhoja in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol I, (1930) —

Page 279 — “ There is a work named *Dharmapradīpa* by Bhoja (Deccan College No 26 of 1874-75) It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A. D., as it quotes Vijñāneśvara and the *Madanapārijāta*. It was composed by an assembly of *Pandits* at the bidding of King Bhoja of Āśāpura, Son of Bhāramalla. The MS was copied in *Samvat* 1695 (i. e. 1638-39 A. D.) ”

Page 569 — “ धर्मप्रदीप¹ of भोज composed between 1400 and 1600 A. D. ”

Page 719 — ‘ भोजदेव son of भारमल्ल, King of कच्छ. Between 1400-1600 A. D., author of धर्मप्रदीप ’

As Dr. Kane has not identified the kings *Bhāramalla* and his son *Bhoja* it is necessary for me to record the following evidence which throws some light on the chronology and history of these Kings —

The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol V (Bombay, 1880), pages 136-137 gives us the following information about these Kings of Cutch and their chronology. —

Rāo Khengār I of Cutch — A. D. 1548-1585.

Rāo Bhārmal I — A. D. 1585-1631.

During his reign the Government of Gujarat passed from Ahmadabad Kings to the Mughal Emperors. He was one of the greatest Zamindars of Gujarat. He died in A. D. 1631.

Rāo Bhojarāj — A. D. 1631-1645.

Bhārmal was succeeded by Bhojarāj, who ruling till 1645 A. D. was succeeded by his nephew Khengār II.

* Poona Orientalist, XVI. Nos. 1-4, pp

1. Aufrecht makes the following entries about *Dharmapradīpa* and its author in his *Catalogue Catalogue*, Part I, p. 263 —

“ धर्मप्रदीप by Bhojadeva of Kaccha B. A. 18. B. 3. 94 (Bhojarāja).

धर्मप्रदीपे प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय B. A. 332. ”

Page 110 — “ भोजदेव, son of Bhāramalla, King of Kaccha धर्मप्रदीप ”

I have no doubt that Bhojarāja, the reputed author of the work *Dharmapradīpa* (MS of A. D. 1638) is identical with Rao Bhojarāj of Cutch (A. D. 1631-1645). Unfortunately the *Bombay Gazetteer* gives no information about the biography of Bhojarāja or his literary interests. It appears, however, that he had some interest in literature and patronised some authors. Though the work *Dharmapradīpa*¹ is stated to be the work of Bhojarāja it was composed by an assembly of pandits as stated by Dr. P. V. Kane.

The B. O. R. Institute MS No 26 of 1874-75 begins as follows:—

“ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री आशापुरायै नमः ॥

या सृष्टिस्थितिसंहतिप्रणयिनी देवारिविभवंसिनी
कामारिप्रियकारिणी मुनिजनध्यानैकगम्या सदा ।

इन्द्रोपेन्द्रविरिंचिवंदितपदद्वंद्वारविंदा भृश
वदे ता जगदंबिका भगवतीमाशापुरा पार्वतीम् ॥ १ ॥

ॐ नमः कमलालोलविलोचनविलासिने ।

शक्रादिविभवावाप्तिकारिणे सुरचैरिणे ॥ २ ॥

भासीत्यत्यप्रचेताः स्मरहरभजने पालकः सज्जनानां

दीनानाथैकवधुः कविकुलकमलोद्धातदो वासरेशः ।

प्रौढोत्तापप्रतापप्रतिहतविततारातिगाढांधकारः

सध्कीर्तिस्तोमसोभोल्लसितकुचलयो भारमल्लः क्षितीशः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्यात्मजः श्रीयुतभोजराज महीमहेंद्रो महनीयकीर्तिः ।

आह्लादक सुज्ञचक्रोरकाणा क्षीराबुधेरिंदुरिवावतीर्णं ॥ ४ ॥

सग्रामे विजयप्रियः सरमसं दुर्योधनामर्दनो

धर्मे धीरमतिर्पुंघिष्ठिर इव प्रध्वस्तदुःशासनः ।

दैन्यध्यातनिवारणः कविकुलोद्धासी विवस्वानिव

प्रोद्यद्द्विधविधानकृद्विजयते श्रीभोजराजः कृती ॥ ५ ॥

तस्याज्ञया भूपतिमौलिमालामणैः सदाचारविवेकलिप्तो ।

नानादिगतागतपडिताली करोति वर्णोचितवर्ममंदीप

॥ ६ ॥ etc.”

The MS ends on fol. 56 a :—

“ सूर्येन्द्रवह्निविधिविष्णुशिवादिरूप-

मात्मानमाह सकलोपनिषत्प्रसिद्धं ।

1. Vide p. 94 Catalogue of MSS in private libraries in Gujarat, Cutch etc., Fasc III. 1571. —MS No. 165 of धर्मदीप of भोजराज in the Palace Library at Bhuj in Cutch (“सुज्ञस्थ-राजप्राज्ञे”) is recorded by Bühler but this MS bears no date.

विंदुत्रयेण निजरूपमुमागतेन
साशापुरा भगवती परिपातु भोज ॥ १ ॥

विहितसुमतिवृत्ति स्नेहसपूर्णमूर्ति- ।
जंगति चित्तकीर्तिः क्लृप्तधर्मार्थपूर्ति ।

इति सुजनहितार्थं भूपतिभोजराजो

मुनिमतमवलोक्याचीकल्पद्धर्मदीप ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीसकलसामतमुकुटमणि राउ श्रीभारमल्लात्मज राउ श्रीभोजराज-
विरचितो धर्मप्रदीपः सपूर्ण ॥ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

श्रीमद्विक्रमत छरांकरसभूवर्षेऽयने दक्षिणे ।

मासे श्रावणकेवलक्षकदले भौमे दशम्या त्रिथौ ॥

मैत्रे भे युजि शुक्ले भुजपुरे धर्मप्रदीपं महा

देवो भोजमहीपकल्लसमलिखच्छ्रीमन्त्रुसिंहोक्तित ॥ १ ॥

भूयोभूयः शुभ भूयात् ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसवत् १७२६ वर्षे शाके १५९१ प्र० रवौ
रुत्तराऽयन शिशिरकृतौ पौषस्य मासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथौ ८ मंगलवासरे श्रीभुजनगरमध्ये गोवर्द्धनेन
लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं धर्मप्रदीपस्य श्री ॥ ”

The foregoing extracts from the beginning and end of the MS of *Dharmapradīpa* supply us the following information about its author —

- (1) *Āśāpurā* was possibly the tutelary deity of *Bhojarāja*, the author of the *Dharmapradīpa*
- (2) *Āśāpurā* was identical with the goddess *Pārvatī*, consort of God Śiva
- (3) King *Bhāramalla* was the father of King *Bhoja*. He was deeply devoted to God Śiva and was a patron of poets.
- (4) *Bhojarāja* or King *Bhoja* was also a patron of poets like his father.
- (5) The work *Dharmapradīpa* was composed by an assembly of *Paṇḍits* gathered from different quarters by the express order of King *Bhoja*
- (6) The colophon states that *Dharmapradīpa* was composed by Rao *Bhojarāja* (“ राउ श्री भोजराज ”) son of Rao *Bhāramalla* (“ राउ श्री भारमल्ल ”)
- (7) The colophon states that first copy of the *Dharmapradīpa* was made in *Vikrama Samvat* 1695 (“ शर, अक, रस, भू ”) = A. D. 1639 at *Bhujapura* which is evidently the town of *Bhuj*, the capital of Cutch, where Rao *Bhojarāja* was ruling (A. D. 1631-1645). This was evidently a contemporary copy of the work *Dharmapradīpa*.

The work itself, composed by pandits by the order of Bhojarāja, can be assigned to the period of about 7/8 years—A. D. 1631 to 1639 if the dates of Rao Bhojarāja given by the *Bombay Gazetteer* are correct.

- (8) The B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Dharmapradīpa*, No. 26 of 1874-75, was copied in *Vikrama Samvat 1726* (A. D. 1670) or *Śaka 1591* at *Bhujanagar* (modern *Bhuj*) by a scribe of the name Govardhana.

From the foregoing data we can easily conclude that the work *Dharmapradīpa* was composed between A. D. 1631 and 1639 and was subsequently copied in the years A. D. 1639 and 1670 at *Bhujapura* or *Bhujanagara* (= modern *Bhuj*) the capital of *Cutch* in *Kathiawar*. Both the Kings of *Cutch* viz. *Bhāramalla* and his son *Bhojarāja* were patrons of learned men. Works and authors mentioned in the MS of *Dharmapradīpa* are as follows —

छंदोगपरिशिष्ट, सारमग्रह, कात्यायन, याज्ञवल्क्य, मनु, शङ्ख, स्मृत्यर्थसार, विज्ञानेश्वर (fol. 4), गोभिल, दक्ष, वसिष्ठ, यम, नारद, गर्ग, विष्णु, पारस्कर, सुमनु, व्यास, जादालि, योगियाज्ञ (चल्क्य), शातातप, भृगु, सत्यतपा, नृसिंहपुराण, कालिकापुराण, ब्रह्मांडपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण, वैष्णवग्रंथसंग्रहकार, लिंगपुराण, “कल्पतरुवाचस्पतिगोविंददेवधारेश्वरकामधेनुभवदेवानिरद्वन्द्वीदत्तहरदत्त हरिनाथ रुद्रधरहेमाद्रिमाधवापरार्कस्मृतिचंद्रिकाकारविज्ञानेश्वरमदनरत्न¹-कारानंतभट्टदिवोदासेत्यादि याज्ञिकहरिस्वामिधूर्तस्वामिकर्कदिवृत्तिकारादि” (fol. 12), नारद-पंचरात्र, हयशीर्ष पंचरात्र, महाकपिल पंचरात्र, गौतमत्रय, विरचिकल्प, सनत्कुमारकल्प, अगस्त्य-संहिता, शाङ्क्यकल्प, कूर्मपुराण, पद्मपुराण, स्कंद, विष्णुरहस्य, ज्ञानमाला, पंचरात्र, बृहदारण्यक, विष्णुपुराण, शारीत, बृहदमनु, भविष्यपुराण, आदित्यपुराण, बृहत्संहिता, देवल, मार्कंडेय, शौनक, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, स्कंदपुराण, मत्स्यपुराण, मरीचि, भारत, देवीपुराण, वौधायन, जमदग्नि, वाराहपुराण, पद्मविशन्मत, प्रचेता भविष्योत्तर, सौरपुराण, बृहन्नारदीय, etc.

Aufrecht makes the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, part I, p. 418 —

“भोजय्याकरण grammar, written in the reign of
Bhojadeva of Kach, by Vinayasāgara.

— B. 3. 16.

— Bikaner 268,

— Gu 4.

— W. 1636 ”

¹ L. Vile p. 233 of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmashastra*, Vol. I (1930). Dr. Kane places *Mañanarathas* “about 1125-1150 A. D.”

MS "Gu 4" is identical with MS No 82 of 1871-72 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B O R Institute. This MS begins as follows —

“ श्रीविघ्नहर्त्रे नम ॥

प्रणम्य लोकेशमनतशक्तिं

श्रीशारदाया वचनप्रसादात् ।

श्रीभारमल्लात्मजभोजतुष्ट्यै

विरच्यते व्याकरण नवीन ॥ १ ॥ ”

The MS ends —

“ सकलसमीहिततरण हरण दु खस्य कोविदाभरण ।

श्रीभोजव्याकरण पठन्तु तस्मात्प्रयत्नेन ॥ ३० ॥

श्रीधर्ममूर्त्तिपदमानसराजहस

कल्याणसागरगुरुर्जयताद्धराया ॥

शिष्य समग्र चित्तविनोदकारी

यस्यास्ति सत्विनयसागरनामधेय ॥ ३१ ॥

श्रीभारमल्लतनयो भुवि भोजराजो

राज्य प्रज्ञास्ति रिपुवर्जितमिद्रवधः ॥

तस्याज्ञया विनयसागरपाठकेन

सत्यप्रबध रचिता सुतृतीयवृत्ति ॥ ३२ ॥

इति श्रीविनयसागरोपाध्यायविरचिते श्रीभोजव्याकरणे तृतीयवृत्ति समाप्ता ॥ ३ ॥ सवत्

१९२८ ना अषाढ वदि ७ सप्तमि तिथौ रविवारे समाप्तोयमि० ’

This MS is a copy made for Buhler in Samvat 1928 (= 1872 A. D. from some old MS in Gujarat.

It is clear from the extracts given above that the *Bhojavvyākaraṇa* is a work on grammar composed by Vinayasāgara, pupil of Kalyāṇasāgara, by the order of king Bhojarāja son of Bhāramalla

I have no doubt that the Bhojarāja son of Bhāramalla mentioned by Vinayasāgara as his patron king is identical with Bhojarāja the reputed author of the *Dharmapradipa* composed between A. D. 1631 and 1638 as I have shown above.

The *Bhojavvyākaraṇa*¹ was composed while Bhojarāja was ruling as

1. Vide p. 115 of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona 1915.

Dr. Belvalkar observes—

“ *Bhojavvyākaraṇa* by Vinayasāgara—written for the benefit of a King Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla. This work like the above, is metrical in form, following the usual topical arrangement.”

Vinayasāgara is the author of this work and not Vinayasaṇḍara as stated by Dr. Belvalkar.

stated by Vinayasāgara. As this king ruled between A. D. 1631 and 1645 we may fix up the date of the *Bhojavṛkṣa* between A. D. 1631 and 1645.

Prof H. D. Velankar records the following MSS of the *Bhojavṛkṣa* in his *Jīnatnakośa* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1944) —

Page 299— “भोजव्याकरण (Gram 2000) by विनयसागर of Añcala Gaccha.

BO p 43; Buh. II, No 82; CC I. p 418. JB. 161; JG p. 293; Limdi No 1187 ”

On p. 247 of the *Jīnatnakośa* Velankar records a work called “पाशनाथ सहस्रनाम ” by Kalyāṇasāgarasūri of the Añcala Gaccha. Most probably this Kalyāṇasāgara is identical with Kalyāṇasāgara, the guru of Vinayasāgara who composed the *Bhojavṛkṣa* between A. D. 1631 and 1645.

The data recorded in this paper will, I hope, be found useful in fixing the chronology of any other works of Bhojarāja, Vinayasāgara and Kalyāṇasāgara, if they come to light hereafter. At any rate I have fixed up within narrow limits the dates of the *Dharmapradīpa* and the *Bhojavṛkṣa*, which were left undecided by other scholars.

The *Praśastisamgraha* (ed by A. M. Shah, Ahmedabad), Part II contains the following dated *praśastis* in which Kalyāṇasāgara is mentioned.—

Page 187 — MS of *Samvat* 1678 (= A. D. 1622)—it was presented to कल्याणसागरसूरीश्वर (mentioned as “ अचलगच्छाधिराज ”) by सागाक of भुजनगर (modern Bhuj).

Page 188 — MS of *Samvat* 1678 (= A. D. 1622)—copied by ज्ञानसागर when कल्याणसागरसूरीश्वर was ruling at अचलगच्छ,

Page 195 — MS of *Samvat* 1684 (= A. D. 1628)—it was presented by अचलगच्छाधिराजकल्याणसागरसूरी to रत्नसिंह for study.

Page 209 — MS copied at भुजनगर (Bhuj) in *Samvat* 1698 (= A. D. 1642) when कल्याणसागरसूरी was ruling at अचलगच्छ.

It will be seen from the above dated *praśastis* that Kalyāṇasāgara, the guru of Vinayasāgara, the author of *Bhojavṛkṣa*, was living between A. D. 1622 and 1661.

Part II of the *Praśastisamgraha* contains the following *praśastis* mentioning विनयसागर.—

Page 186 — A MS was copied in *Samvat* 1676 (= A. D. 1620) by हेमसागर, pupil of विनयसागर.

Page 195 — A MS was copied in *Samvat 1683* (= A. D. 1627) and presented to विनयसागरगणि

Page 193 — A Ms was copied in *Samvat 1667* (= A. D. 1611) by विनयसागरमुनि at दिल्ली नगर, when जहांगिर पातिसाह was ruling.

Vinayasāgara mentioned in the above *praśastis* dated A. D. 1611, 1620 and 1627 was contemporary of *Kalyāṇasāgara*, who was living between A. D. 1622 and 1661. It is possible to suggest that this *Vinayasāgara* is identical with *Vinayasāgara*, the pupil of *Kalyāṇasāgara*, who composed the *Bhojavyākaraṇa* between A. D. 1631 and 1645. More definite evidence is, however, required to prove the identity of *Vinayasāgara* of the *praśastis* with his namesake, the author of the *Bhojavyākaraṇa*.

17. Authorship and Antiquity of a Stanza with Paleographic Imagery in the Text Of the Mahimnastotra *

Having published a paper on the *History of Ink-manufacture in India* I developed some interest in the literary references about writing materials frequently found in Sanskrit sources. While reading the popular hymn to God Śiva called the *Mahimnastotra*, which is recited by some devout people every day, I was much charmed by the following stanza which contains in the form of sublime imagery references to writing materials viz. (1) *ink*, (2) *pen* and (3) *palm-leaf* or *birch-bark* and (4) *ink-pot* :—

“ असितगिरिसमं स्यात्कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे
सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी पत्रमुर्वी ।
लिप्यति यदि गृहीत्वा शारदा सर्वकालम्
तदपि तव गुणानां ईश पारं न याति ॥ ”

(O God Śiva 'even though the Goddess of Learning (Śārādā) continues recording perpetually your good qualities' on the leaf in the form of the earth with *pen* in the form of the branch of the heavenly tree and *ink* made of a mountain of black soot dissolved in the *ink-pot* in the form of the river Indus, she will not be able to exhaust all your qualities)

In view of the sublime imagery of paleographic interest contained in the above stanza I began to investigate the antiquity and authorship of this stanza. In the first instance I wanted to satisfy myself that this stanza is a genuine part of the *Mahimnastotra* itself. While my investigation was going on I happened to read the edition of *Aparokṣānubhava* (with Jayarāmasvāmi Vadgaonkar's metrical commentary in Marathi) by V. L. Bhawe, Thana, 1905. This edition contains the Sanskrit text (in verse) of the *Aparokṣānubhava* (also called *Aparokṣānubhūti*), the authorship of which is ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (8th century A. D.). The Marathi commentary was composed by Jayarāmasvāmi, who flourished between A. D. 1590 and 1672 (vide p. 396 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937).

Jayarāmasvāmi (=JS) has divided his Marathi commentary in 12 *Praharāṇas*. The 11th *Praharāṇa* ends as follows :—

* *Shikṣā, a Veda*, Vol. XII (1951), pp. 129-133

Page 82 — “परिपक्वं मनो येषां..... ।

गुरुदैवतभक्ताना जवात् ॥ ५६ ॥”

Commentary - प्रकरण स्वयमेव अकरावें ॥

Page 84 — *Prakarana* 12th begins —

“असितगिरिसम स्यात्कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे

सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी पत्रमुर्वी ।

लिखति यदि गृहीत्वा शारदा सर्वकालम्

तदपि तव गुणानामीश पारं न याति ॥ ५७ ॥”

Commentary. — “मेरु मंदार पर्वत सकळ ।

तितुर्के मसी केलें काजळ ।

सिंधू एवढें पात्र प्रवळ ।

भरिलें केवळ उचवळत ॥ ६ ॥

कल्पवृक्षाच्या श्रेष्ठशाखा ।

आणि पृथ्वीच्या सकळवृक्षां ।

करूनिया लेखनिया सुरेखा ।

पत्र देखा पृथ्वी सकळ ॥ ७ ॥

इतुर्के घेऊनिया लेखन ।

सर्वकाल सरस्वती आपण ।

करिता सर्वथा तुझें गुण ।

स्वामी पूर्ण न गणवती ॥ ८ ॥”

This occurrence of the stanza “असितगिरिसम” from the popular text of the *Mahīmnastotra* in the text of the *Aparokṣānubhava* came to me as a surprise but the commentary of this stanza by JS (A.D. 1599-1672) pleased me as it proved the following points connected with my inquiry.—

(1) JS (A.D. 1599-1672) had before him a MS of *Aparokṣānubhava* with the stanza “असितगिरिसम” as part of the text.

(2) This stanza was in existence about A.D. 1600 irrespective of the question of its authorship

With regard to the authorship of the stanza we have now to answer the following questions:—

(1) Does this stanza form a genuine part of the *Mahīmnastotra*? or
 (2) Does it form part of the *Aparokṣānubhava* of Śaṅkarācārya? These questions can be answered by examining all known MSS and printed editions of the *Mahīmnastotra* and the *Aparokṣānubhūti* (*°bhava*). To begin with I shall record below the results of my examination of the material available to me.—

(I) *Mahimnastotra*—The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses the following MSS of the *Stotra*.—

(1) Text with commentary by Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa—No. 742 of 1886-92—The stanza “असितगिरिसमं” is given on folio 11^b as No. 32. Stanza No. 33 — “सुरभुजगनेन्द्र.” is the last stanza of the text. The commentary explains only stanzas No. 31 and 33. There is no Commentary for Stanza No. 32.

(2) Text with commentary — No. 645 of 1883-84 — On folio 14 the stanza “असितगिरिसमं” is found as No. 32 with the following commentary.—

“हे ईश हे स्वामिन् असितगिरिसमं अंजनगिरितुल्यं । कज्जलं स्यात् । क सिंधुपात्रे यदि सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी स्यात् । यदि शारदा सरस्वती उर्वी पत्रं गृहीत्वा सर्वकालं लिखति तदपि त्वं गुणानां पारं न याति ॥ ३२ ॥”

(3) Text with commentary—No. 539 of 1891-95—On folio 17 the stanza “असितगिरिसमं” appears as the last stanza (No. 32) of the text with the following commentary:—

“हे ईश असितगिरिसमं अंजनगिरितुल्यं कज्जलं स्यात् क सिंधुपात्रे यदि सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी स्यात् ॥ यदि शारदा सरस्वती उर्वी पत्रं गृहीत्वा सर्वकालं लिखति ॥ तदपि त्वं गुणानां पारं न याति ॥ ३२ ॥”

This commentary is practically a copy of that in MS No. 645 of 1883-84 recorded above.

(4) Madhusūdana Sarasvatī has commented on the *Mahimnastotra*. I have examined the following MSS of his commentary —

No. 175 of 1884-87—dated Śaka 1747 (= A.D. 1825)—Copied at सप्तर्षिपुर (= Satara?). The stanza “असितगिरिसमं” is not found in this MS. There is also no commentary on it by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

No. 75 of A 1879 80 —Text with commentary. Neither the stanza “असितगिरिसमं” nor its commentary is found in the MS.

No. 33 of 1883-84 —Text with commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The last three stanzas of the text are the following —

(१) “कुसुमदशननानामहिम्नः ॥ ३२ ॥

अयं श्लोकः स्वभावगतोपि सुगमश्चात्र व्याख्यातः ॥ ”

(२) “सुरगुरुमभिपूज्य ... पुष्पदन्तप्रणोद ॥ ३३ ॥ ”

(३) “असितगिरिसमं ... ईश पारं न याति ॥ ३४ ॥ ”

(४) “ध्रीपुष्पदन्तमुत्सर्जन..... नूतनपविर्देहाः ॥ ३५ ॥ ”

एते त्रयः श्लोका न साप्रदायिकत्वेन श्लोकांतर्गता
तथा सुगमाश्चेति उपेक्षिता इति शुभ”

It will be seen from the above extract that the verse “ असितगिरिसम ” is found in this MS among verses which are not accompanied with the comment of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The attempt of the copyist to explain away the non-inclusion of these four verses in the body of the text of the Stotra accompanied with the commentary by his own endorsements viz. (1) “ अयंश्लोकः etc. ” and (2) “ एते त्रयः श्लोका etc. ” is futile and confirms our suspicion about their genuineness.

No. 159 of 1881-82—Text with commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The last stanza of the text is— “कुसुम दत्त (दशन ?) नामा ...महिम्न ” followed by the endorsement “ अयं श्लोकः स्तोत्रांतर्गतः सुगमश्चेति सर्वं भद्र ” but without commentary. The stanza “ असितगिरिसम ” is absent in this MS so also any commentary on it is not traceable

No. 206 of 1902-07—Text with commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The MS is dated Śaka 1736 (= A.D. 1811)—The last stanza of the text is the same as in MS No. 159 of A 1881-82 The endorsement following the stanza is also the same as in MS No. 159 of A 1881-82 The stanza “ असितगिरिसम ” and its commentary are absent in the MS

The absence of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's commentary on the stanza “ असितगिरिसम ” in the above four MSS leads me to believe that the text of the *Mahimnastotra* known to him as genuine did not contain this stanza.
(II) *Aparokṣānubhava* ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya

With a view to seeing if the stanza “ असितगिरिसम ” of the *Mahimnastotra* forms parts the *Aparokṣānubhava* (or *bhūti*) I have to record below the result of my examination of the following MSS of this work in the Government MSS Library at the B O R Institute —

(1) MS No. 216 of 1892-95—Text with the Comm. of Vidyāranya (c. A.D. 1350)—Contains 147 verses of the text.

(2) MS No 111 of 1902-07—Text with Comm of Vidyāranya—114 stanzas only of the text plus 3 extra stanzas.

(3) MS No 368 of A 1881-82—Commentary called विज्ञानविनोदिनी by Bālagopāla on 114 stanzas of the text.

(4) MS No 078 of 1887-91—Text only—143 stanzas.

- (5) MS No. 130 of 1883-84—Text only—143 stanzas.
- (6) MS No. 112 of 1902-07—Text only—145 stanzas—MS dated Śaka 1648 (= A.D. 1721)
- (7) MS No 3 of 1919-24—Text with verse for verse comm. in Marāṭhī by Vāmana—144 stanzas.
- (8) MS No 744 of 1891-95—Text with comm. called 'बोधदीपिका' which refers to the work "हठप्रदीप" (folio 27)—142 stanzas.
- (9) MS No. 656 of 1882-83—Text with Vāmana's Marāṭhī comm. (same as No. 7 above)—144 stanzas.
- (10) MS No 640 of 1887-91—Text only—MS dated Samvat 1837 (= A.D. 1781)—144 stanzas.
- (11) MS No 589 of 1884-87—Text only—MS dated Samvat 1866 (= A.D. 1810)—144 stanzas.
- (12) MS No. 626 of Vis I—Text with the comm. (चित्रण) of "नित्यानन्दचरणानुचर"—144 stanzas—MS dated Śaka 1685 (= A. D. 1763)—The commentator refers to god Viṭhobā of Pandharpur (पंढरीपूर) on the last folio 148.

None of the above MSS of the text of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* and the commentaries on it by Vidyāraṇya (c. A. D. 1350) and others contain either the text or commentary of the stanza of the *Mahimnastotra* viz. "असितगिरिसम" etc. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that this stanza did not form part of the *Aparokṣānubhūti*, though Jayarāmasvāmī (A. D. 1599-1672) had before him a MS of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* with this stanza incorporated into it as he comments in Marāṭhī verse on this stanza considering it as genuine part of the text.¹

In the light of evidence recorded so far about the textual history of the stanza in the popular *Śivamahimnastotra* viz. "असितगिरिसम..... पारं न याति" the following inferences can be tentatively drawn.—

- (1) This stanza is possibly an interpolation in the text of the *Śivamahimnastotra*.
- (2) This stanza is also an interpolation in the text of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* available to Jayarāmasvāmī (A. D. 1599-1672) for his Marāṭhī commentary in *Oṣi* metre.

1. I have not examined all the printed editions of the *Aparokṣānubhūti*. The following editions examined by me do not contain the stanza "असितगिरिसम" c.c. or its commentary—

- (i) Śaṅkarācārya's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II, Mysore, 1893—pp. 1-57—Text with Vidyāraṇya's Commentary,
- (ii) Poṭhi Edition, Bombay, 1883—Text with comm. of Vidyāraṇya (Printed in Jagadivara Litho Press),

- (3) The authorship and the exact date of the composition of this stanza is so far unknown but it was in existence between A. D. 1599 and 1672, as Jayarāmasvāmī comments on it.
- (4) Perhaps the stanza formed part of some other Stotra or was a stray *Subhāṣita* available for indiscriminate insertion in any text according to the caprice of a copyist or a devotee, who was charmed by the beauty of imagery contained in the stanza.
- (5) This stanza has a clear antiquity of more than 350 years.

I await more documentary evidence for or against the inferences tentatively drawn by me on the basis of the data recorded in this paper.

18. Studies in the History Of Dietetics — References to “Avarāṇna” in the Dharmasūtras Of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba And The Gr̥hyasūtra Of Āpastamba—(BETWEEN B. C. 500 AND A. D. 500) *

In my paper on “Varāṇna” and its history from the 7th century A.D. up to 1800 A.D. I tried to establish the following equation:—

वराण mentioned by
 the Jain author of
 वराङ्गचरित
 (7th Cent. A.D.) } ? = { अवराण mentioned in अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह
 (c.A.D. 625)
 and in अष्टाङ्गहृदय
 (8th or 9th Century A.D.)
 = वराण mentioned by the Marathi writers, *Ekanātha*
 (A.D. 1533-1599), by *Muktesvara* (c.A.D. 1599
 -1619), by *Rāmadāsa* (A.D. 1608-1682).
 = वरण mentioned in लीळाचरित्र (Marathi) of c.A.D.
 1250, in स्मृतिस्थल (Marathi) of c.A.D. 1450, in
 Moropant's works (A.D. 1720-1794).

I further pointed out that the term “अवरान्न” of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* (c.A.D. 625) has been explained by Indu in his commentary (between c.A.D. 700 and 900) as “विदल-सस्य-अन्नम्” i.e. food prepared from split grain or pulse. Subsequent commentators like Arunadatta (A.D. 1220) and Hemādri (A. D. 1260) support Indu's explanation and clarify it by giving examples. According to Arunadatta the अवराण्न was made of मय and other grains evidently in the form of pulse or “विदल” ¹ which Dāllana (c. A.D. 1100) explains as “शमीधान्य-अवयवः.”

Since the publication of my paper I was in search of the usages of the term “अवरान्न” in sources earlier than A.D. 600 to enable me to learn the antiquity of this term in Indian dietetic terminology current before A.D. 600. Fortunately I have been able to trace the following usages of “अवरान्न” much earlier than I expected in non medical ² works:—

* *Penna Orientalist*, Vol. XII (1913) pp. 1-2.

1. Cakrapāṇi (N. S. Press, 1941, pp. 156-157—चिकित्सास्थान VII, 137) mentions the term विदल (“एषः कषायः साध्यो दत्वा द्विपल मसूरविदलानाम्”) which is explained by Cakrapāṇidatta (C. 1000 A.D.) as follows:—

“मसूरविदलानामिति नित्यममसूराणां, न तु मसूरविदला अत्र द्यामाः उक्तं हि शूकरेण पुलिनेन—“मसूरविदलोत्पलम्” इति.”

2. I record below some references to the terms “विदल” and “वैदल” in view of Indu's equation of अवराण्न with “विदल-सस्य-अन्नम्.”

(Continued on the next page)

(1) Haradatta in his commentary on the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* (Trivandrum, 1923) Chap I, *Khaṇḍa* 7, *Sūtra* 1 (p 33)—

“पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्य परिचरेत् स्वयं पश्यन्वापि वा पुत्रं कुमार्यन्तेवाप्तौ वा ॥ १ ॥”

mentions “अवरात्र” along with क्षार, लवण, as will be seen from the following extract

“यस्मिन्कर्मणि पाणिगृह्यते तस्याणिग्रहणं विवाहं तत आरभ्य गृह्यमग्निं परिचरेत् । परिचरणं शुश्रूषा, समिन्धनादि । होमश्च पत्नीकुमारीभ्यतिरिक्तानाम् । तयोस्तु संमार्जनमुपलेपनं हविरूपकल्पनं समिन्धनमित्यादि । पुत्रस्याप्युपनीतस्य ग्रहणम् । तथा आपस्तम्बः—

‘स्त्रियानुपेतेन क्षारलवणावरात्रसंसृष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते’ इति अन्ये तु होममपि सर्वेषामिच्छन्ति ।’

(Continued from the preceding page)

(i) *Sūtrata Samhitā*, N S. Press, 1938 (उत्तरतन्त्र, Chap. 54 verse 4) refers to “माष-पिष्टान्न-विदलम्.” Dallana explains पिष्टान्न = तण्डुलपिष्टादि and विदल = मकुष्टादि — Dallana in his comments on para 5 of Chap 20 of सूत्रस्थान (p 95) mentions “वैदलसूप्य” (मुद्रादयः वैदलसूप्येषु).

Sūtrata refers to “वैदलः” in *Sūtrasthāna*, Ch 46, 27—

“मुद्रवनमुद्रकलायमकुष्टमसूरमङ्गल्यचणकसतीनमिपुटकहरेण्वाढकीप्रभृतयो वैदलाः ॥ २७ ॥”

Dallana explains —

“एषा ‘वैदला’ इति सज्ञा न पुनः अन्वयार्थेन वैदलसज्ञा, एव हि विदलाना इति वैदला इति माषकुलयायु अपि वैदलत्व स्यात्, तेन

“बल्लूर मूलकं शुष्कशकाणि वैदलम् ।

वर्जयेच्चालुकं गुल्मी मधुराणि फलानि च ॥”

इत्यादिषु वैदलत्वेन मुद्रादिषु निषेधः, तेन गुल्मेषु

माषकुलयादयः न निषिध्यन्ते, न हि ते वैदला ॥ २७ ॥”

(ii) K. M. Vaidya in his अष्टागहृदयकोष (Trichur, 1936, p 32) explains “अवरात्र” of अष्टागहृदय (सूत्र ८) as “विदलान्नम्” which he specifies by the following verses —

“यत्र गोधूमचणका माषो मुद्राढकौ तथा ।

मकुष्टकं कुलयाश्च मसूरस्त्रिपुटस्तथा ।

निष्पानकं कलायश्च विदलान्नं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥”

He further quotes *Bhūtamiśra* (O. A. D 1550) —

“शमिजाः शिमिजाः शिवीभवाः सूप्याश्च वैदलाः”

and (on p 286) he equates “दलम्” of अष्टागहृदय (सूत्र २५) with दाली (Marathi डाळ) and quotes दृष्टिहः—

“स्फोटस्तु चणकदीना दाली तु परिकीर्तिता”

The पाकविधि for दाली is given by भावमिश्र in the verses—

“दाली तु सलिले सिद्धा लघ्नाद्रसदिग्भिः । सयुक्ता सूपनाम्नी स्यात् etc”

1. Vid. D. R. Patil's remarks on Flood-grains in his *Cultural History from Vayupurāṇa* (Poznań, 1946, p. 211). I note some points from these remarks in the following table —

(Continued on the next page)

The quotation "सिद्यानुपेतेन . . . परिचक्षते" has been traced by me in the *Maṇḍūkya-sūtra* (Patala III, Khaṇḍa 8, Sūtra 3) edited by Cinnaswami Śāstri, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1928, p. 114, where it occurs as follows with its explanation by the commentators Haradatta and Sudarśanācārya—

"सिद्यानुपेतेन क्षारलवणावराद्धसंसृष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते ॥ ३ ॥"

Haradatta explains:—

"पाक्यज्ञाधिकारे सर्वत्राय प्रतिपेधः श्राद्धादिषु अपि अवराधानि कौशधीधान्यानि मापादीनि कृष्णधान्यानि चणककोद्रवादीनि परिचक्षते वर्जयन्ति शिष्टाः."

Āpastamba prohibits the use of क्षार, लवण and नवराक्ष in a *homa* to be performed by a house holder. According to Haradatta (c.A.D. 1100 according to *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937, p. 820) the term "नवराक्ष" means "कौशधी धान्य" (seeds produced in pod or legume) like माप etc. and "कृष्ण धान्य" (black or inferior grain) like चणक, कोद्रव etc. I believe this explanation of "नवराक्ष" by Haradatta is in agreement with the explanation of Indu who calls it "विदल-सस्य-नय" i.e. food prepared from split grain or pulse. As a matter of fact we prepare in our cookery वराक्ष or वरण¹ of the pulses of माप, चणक etc. Sudarśanācārya² explains the Sūtra of Āpastamba referred to above as follows:—

(Continued from the preceding page)

Rgveda—यव and धान्य mentioned—Few references to food grains—

Food-preparations —

ओदन, क्षीरोदन, सुदोदन, मासोदन, अपूप, पक्ति and करम्म.

Brahm agas—त्रीहि, पियूष, तिल, गोधूम, माप mentioned—Oil from तिल

Jñāna—Field crops mentioned are—साजी, त्रीहि, तण्डुल, यव, कङ्गु, कलाये, मुग्ग,

मास, तिल, एरण्ड, मरीच, जीरक, सिद्धयक, लोन, अम्बिल, अदुमुगिवेर—

Sugar-cane and its juice—Salt-makers mentioned.

Arthashastra—Elabora's account

1 Prof K. P. Kulkarni in his *Vijayapatrika* (1947, p. 612) makes the following entry about वरण:—

"वरण—न. शिजविलेल्या डाळीचा पदार्थ. A dish of pulse.

म. वर + अन्न मूल वरण शब्दाचे संस्कृतीकरण नंतर झाले असावे."

Prof. Kulkarni's statement that the original word वरण may have been later Sanskritised is not borne out by the history of this word and its usages in different forms like अवराक्ष, वराक्ष and वरण as recorded in this paper and the previous one on this subject. From अवराक्ष the word वराक्ष was derived and from वराक्ष, the Marathi वरण.

2 The date of Sudarśanācārya has not been exactly determined. According to my evidence he is later than A.D. 1000 and earlier than A.D. 1600. He is later than Haradatta, whom he quotes and refutes, and earlier than Kamalakaraṭṭha, the author of *Narayanandha*, (A.D.

(Continued on the next page)

“यवक्षाराभ्यां लवणेन च अवराक्षेन च कोशधान्यापरनाम्ना माषादिना तिलव्यतिरिक्तेन संसृष्टस्यापि भवति हविषो होमे प्रसक्ति तदुभयनिषेधार्थमाह — “स्त्रियानुपेतेन..... परिचक्षते” ॥ ३ ॥

स्त्रिया अनुपेतेन अनुपनीतेन च होमं होममात्रं श्रौतं स्मार्तं च शिष्टा. परिचक्षते वर्जयन्ति यस्मात् तस्मादेव ताभ्यां न होतव्यमिति शेषः ।”

Sudarśanācārya practically repeats the explanation of “अवराक्ष” given by Haradatta, whom he quotes and criticizes at times in his commentary as observed by the Editor in his Introduction, p. 7. The term “कोशधान्य” of *Sudarśanācārya* appears to be identical with “कोशधान्य” of Haradatta. It is clear from the explanations of these commentators, who are later than about A. D. 1100 that the term “अवराक्ष” means pulse-grains used in cookery.

In continuing his comment on *Sūtra* 3 referred to above *Sudarśanācārya* refers to a passage in *आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र* which refers to “अवराक्ष” as follows —

“यच्च धर्मशास्त्रे ‘न क्षारलवणहोमो विद्यते । तथावराक्षसंसृष्टस्य च’ (*आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र* २-१५-१२, १३) इति etc.”

The *Sūtras* of *Āpastamba* quoted by *Sudarśanācārya* in his comment are identical with the following *Sūtras* in Buhler's Edition of *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra* (B. S. Series, Poona, 1932) —

II, 6, 15, — *Sūtras* 14 and 15 —

“न क्षारलवणहोमी विद्यते ॥ १४ ॥

तथावराक्षसंसृष्टस्य च ॥ १५ ॥”

On p. 179 we get the following extracts from Haradatta's commentary regarding the meanings of “क्षार” and “अवराक्ष” :—

“१४. यद्यद् भक्ष्यमाण पश्यतो लालोत्पद्यते तत् क्षारम् ॥

१५ अवरान्न कुलत्थादि तत्संसृष्टान्नस्य होमो न विद्यते ॥”

This explanation of Haradatta about “अवराक्ष” agrees with his explanation of this term occurring in *आपस्तम्ब-गृह्यसूत्र* as we have seen above

It will thus be seen that through the favour of Haradatta I have been able to trace the term “अवराक्ष” in the (1) *आपस्तम्ब गृह्यसूत्र* and (2) *आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र* as well. These usages of the term “अवरान्न” are further corroborated by the *बोधायनधर्मसूत्र* (Mysore, 1907) *Praśna* IV, Chap. 7, *Sūtra* 7 as follows —

(Continued from the preceding page)

1612), who mentions *Sudarśanācārya* — *Sudarśanācārya* mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार (possibly of श्रीधर — C. A. D. 1150-1250) and धूर्तन्वामिन् and कर्पार्द्धामिन्.

(*Prāyaścittas*) — "अभस्याभोज्यापेयानाद्यप्राशनेषु तयाऽप्यचिरकृतेषु मधुमांसघृत-
तैलक्षारलवणावरान्नवर्जेषु यथान्यदप्येवं युक्तं द्वादशाहं द्वादश द्वादश प्राणायामान् धारयेत् ॥ ७ ॥"
Govindasvāmin in his commentary on the above *Sūtra* of Bodhāyana
does not explain the term "अवरात्र." He merely states "अपण्यानि अन्नादीनि
मधुमांसादिवर्जितानि ।"

The foregoing reference to "अवरात्र" in the *Bodhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra*
is very important for my present inquiry as Prof. Kane¹ has fixed up the
date of this work between B. C. 500 and 200. If this date is correct, the
history of "अवरात्र", which I have identified with Sanskrit "वरात्र" and
Marathi "वरण" can be easily taken back to c.B.C. 500 i.e. about 1000
years earlier than Vāgbhaṭa I, who mentions it in his *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha*
(C.A.D. 625). Bühler in his Introduction to the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*
(p. xi) refers to the "close agreement of the *Hiranyakeśa-Dharmasūtra*
with that of the *Āpastambiyas*." He further states that the foundation of
the *Hiranyakeśa* school is earlier than Fleet's Pallava Inscription No. XV
(*Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 153) which belongs to the "end of the 5th century
A.D." and which mentions a donee "हैरण्यकेश पट्टिकुमार". He, therefore,
asserts positively "that the readings of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र, found in the हैरण्य-
केश version are at least fourteen hundred years old. Probably however, the
Hiranyakeśa school "dates from much earlier times."

The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1936, p. 250) mentions
"अवरात्र" in *Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. 46, Verse 491, which reads as follows :—

"न चैकरमसेवायां प्रसज्येत कदाचन ।

शाकावरान्नभूयिष्ठमम्लं च न समाचरेत् ॥ ४९१ ॥"

Dallāṇa (C.A.D. 1100) explains —

"अवरान्नं वैदलान्नम्"

This is the earliest reference² to "अवरात्र" I have found in medical
works. I give below a chronological table for the references to अवरात्र, वरात्र
and वरण so far discovered by me and recorded in my present and
previous paper on the subject —

1 *Vedic History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930).

2 The reference to "अवरात्र" in the *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha* is an echo of *Suśrutasaṃhitā*
reference. The *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha* refers to "अवरात्र" as follows in Chap. 10 of *Sūtrasthāna* —

"शाकवरान्नं कदाञ्चनैकपाक्यन्नगोक्तम् ।

त्यवेदेकरातात्म्यं गुर्वं शुष्कं च भोजनम् ॥"

Compare "शाकावरान्नभूयिष्ठमम्लं लवणं त्यजेत्" in *अष्टांगहृदय* (N. S. Press, 1933,
p. 157).

CHRONOLOGY

REFERENCE

CHRONOLOGY	REFERENCE
B. C. 500-200	Reference to "अवराज", क्षार and लवण in the <i>Bodhiyana-Dharmasūtra</i> Reference to "अवराज", क्षार and लवण in the <i>Āpastambī Dharmasūtra</i> . Reference to "अवराज", क्षार and लवण in the <i>Āpastamba-Grhyasūtra</i> .
Before A. D. 500	Reference to "अवराज" in <i>Suśrutasaṃhitā</i>
C. A. D. 625	"अवराज" mentioned in the <i>Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha</i>
C. A. D. 700-900	"अवराज" mentioned in the <i>Aṣṭāṅga-Hrdaya</i>
A. D. 600-700	"वराज" mentioned in the <i>Varāṅga-Carita</i> .
A. D. 700-900	"अवराज" explained by Indu as "विदल-सस्य-अन्न".
C. A. D. 1220	"अवरान्न" explained by Arunadatta as "माषादि".
C. A. D. 1260	"अवरान्न" explained by Hemādri as "सूप"
C. A. D. 1250	"वरण", मूत्र etc mentioned in Marathi लीळाचरित्र,
A. D. 1308	"वरण" mentioned in a Marathi work.
C. A. D. 1450	"वरण" mentioned in Marathi स्मृतिस्थल
A. D. 1533-1599	"वरान्न" mentioned by Ekanātha in his Marathi poem रुक्मिणी-स्वयंवर
A. D. 1599-1649	"वरान्न" mentioned by Mukteśvara in his Marathi वनपर्व
A. D. 1729-1794	"वरण" mentioned in a Marathi work of Moropant

Having taken the history of our modern *Varaṇa* (with its different appellations अवरान्न, वरान्न, विदलान्न, विदल-सस्य-अन्न) upto about B. C. 500 we are curious to know how this dish was prepared from the different pulses called "*Vaḍalas*" by *Suśruta* and specified by him as मुद्ग, वनमुद्ग, कलाय, मकुष्ट, मसूर, मद्गल्य, चणक, सतीन, त्रिपुटक, हरेणु, आडकी etc. Our curiosity will be sufficiently satisfied if we read the following detailed description of विदलपाक सिद्धि (or preparation of वरण from different pulses) as recorded by king Someśvara in his encyclopaedic work *Mānasollāsa*¹ (*G O Series*, Baroda Vol. II, 1939) in the section called अन्नभोग (pages 115-136) —

1 The date of this work is recorded as "A. D. 1127" in the मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by Chitram Shastri, Poona, 1937 p. 817. Someśvara ruled between A. D. 1126-1138. The chapter on cookery (अन्नभोग) records many dishes both vegetarian and non-vegetarian as current in the Deccan and Karnatak in the 12th century. I note below names of these dishes and the materials used in them.—

“ राजमुद्रगास्तथा पीता निष्या (पा) वाश्चणका अपि ॥ ५७ ॥

कृष्णावक्यास्तथा मापा मसूरा राजमापका. ।

सूपकमेणि ससैते नियोज्याः सूपकारकै ॥ ५८ ॥

दलिताऽदलितवाश्चैते पचनीया ययारुचि ।

चणका राजमापाश्च मसूरा राजमुद्रका. ॥ ५९ ॥

घरट्टैर्दलिताः कायां पाकार्यं हि विचक्षणैः ।

किञ्चिद्भ्रष्टास्तथावप्यो यन्नावर्तैर्द्विधाकृताः ॥ ६० ॥

विदली च कृताः सम्यक् शूर्पकैर्वितुपीकृताः ।

स्यादया शीतोदक क्षिपवा विदलैः सममानतः ॥ ६१ ॥

भावपेद्विदलान्पश्चाच्चुल्यामारोपयेत् ततः ।

मृद्वग्निपच्यमानेऽन्तर्हिर्गुतोय विनिक्षिपेत् ॥ ६२ ॥

वर्णार्थं रजनीचूर्णमीपत्तत्र नियोजयेत् ।

मुहुर्मुहुर्क्षिपेत्तोय यावत्पाकस्य पूर्णता ॥ ६३ ॥

सुशुक्ष्ण सैन्धव कृत्वा विंशत्यशेन निक्षिपेत् ।

(Continued from the previous page)

(a) भक्त from different kinds of rice (रक्तशालि, महाशालि, गन्धशालि, कलिन्नक, मुण्ड-शालि, स्थूलशालि, सूक्ष्मशालि, पथिक — verses 345-56) (b) विदलपाक from different pulses (verses 57-65), (c) सूप prepared of मसूर, माप, मुद्र, हिङ्गु, आर्द्रक, वार्ताक, विसचक्रिका fried in oil, प्रियालवीज, bits of मेपमास, “ भेदसः शकलानि ”, मरिच, नागचूर्ण, श्यामाक, कङ्गु, नीवार, गन्धशालि etc. (verses 66-74), (d) पायस prepared of महिषीपयस्, (e) मण्डक prepared of गोधूमचूर्ण, लवण, शालिचूर्ण, (f) अन्तरपोलिता (82-83), (g) सोहला (84), (h) पाहलिता (85), (i) पूरिका (90), (j), धोसक from the pulses of चणक, माप, राजमाप and वट्टाणक (Marathi वाटाणा), (k) वटिका (94-99), (l) इडरिका (1100-1101), (m) चारिका (2-3), (n) काञ्जिकवटक (4), (o) Other kinds of वटक (5-9), (p) क्षीरप्रकार (9-14), (q) वर्षालक (15-17), (r) चकलिका (1106-110), (s) भञ्जिक (59-65), (t) मासवटक (81) and its varieties भूपिका (81), कोशली (82), पूरभट्टाक (84) and वट्टिमक (87), (u) पञ्चवर्णी (83-91), (v) अन्यशुण्ठक (92-93), (w) वर्गशुण्ठक (1199-1201), (x) उक्तायित सूप (1-2), (y) सारसण्ड (34), (z) नन्दावर्त (33), (ab) घृतकट्टे (42), (ac) पर्पट (19), (ad) मेथिकापर्पट (55), (ae) दधि, तक्र, मज्जिना, शितरिणी, मस्तु (1570-1576), (af) व्यञ्जन (76-79), (ag) धूपकाञ्जिक, (ah) पानक (84), (ai) अन्न, पक्वान्न and पानक (83), (aj) वटरु, पर्पट, सारसण्ड, उपसण्डक (94), (ak) शितरिणी, मज्जिना तक्रान्न, क्षीर, काञ्जिक, मास with अम्ल, दुग्ध with शर्करा.

Some of the special dishes in the above list of about A D 1130 are not found in the chapters on kṛtāni in the Sufra-Sambhita and Carakasaṃhitā. We must, therefore, look if they can be traced in other sources, Sanskrit or non-Sanskrit.

Some remarks chapter on अन्नभोग needs to be published with translation in Marathi and English by the Editor of the आहार magazine, Bombay.

वर्णतः स्वादुता (स्वादतः) गन्धान्मादंवाह्लाधवादपि ॥ ६४ ॥
एवं विदलपाकस्य सम्यक्सिद्धिरुदाहृता । ”

In this extract we get a beautiful detailed description of the preparation of वरण. Someśvara tells us how the different kinds of pulse-grains should be ground in a घरट्ट and split in a यन्त्रावर्त and unhusked by a शूर्पक and then cooked with the addition of हिंगुतोय, रजनीचूर्ण (for colouring, वर्णार्थ) and सैन्धव. This process current about 800 years ago has practically remained unchanged upto the present day.

I hope some scholars interested in the history of Indian dietetics would throw some more light on the history of *Varaṇa*,¹ which I have tried to clarify so far on the strength of Sanskrit and Marathi sources available to me.



1 Tryambaka Nārāyaṇa Māte, a Citpāvan Brahmin, refers to *Varaṇa* prepared from मुद्र (Marathi मूग) and आदकी (Marathi तूर) in his *Dharmafāstra* work called the आचाररेन्दु (*Ānandāśrama*, Poona, 1909, p. 309) as follows —

“ अथ सप्तादिगुणा उच्यन्ते—

विशेषान्मुद्रकुल्माषो गुर्व रूच्यो विवन्धकृत्
वातलः श्लेष्मपित्तघ्नः प्रमेहगलरोगिणः । मुगाच्च वरण ॥
विशेषादादकीसूपः स्वादु विष्टम्भकृद् गुर्वः । तुरीचं वरण ॥ ”

He also refers to “ वरणातील मुटूकी ”.—

“ सप्तान्ननिवृत्ता भक्ष्या वातला रुक्षशीतलाः ।

सकटुस्नेहलवणान्भक्षयेदल्पशस्तु तान् । वरणातील मुटूकी ॥ ”

Other articles of diet mentioned by this author are —

जोषट्याच्या लाद्या, गन्हाच्या लाद्या, पोहे (पृथुक) (p. 300)— पुऱ्या, माडे, मोदक, रोठ्या, गोधूमचूर्णरोट, पुरणचे कानवले, वडे, फळें or पातकानवले (!), घागे, क्षीरपूषाः (p. 301)— फेवा, पोलिका, लाडू, करजी, (p. 302) — साजा (p. 294) — आचाररेन्दु was composed in A.D. 1333.

19. An Echo of the Siege of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical Work *

(Between A. D. 1690 and 1710)

Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita¹ lived between a. A. D. 1600 and 1660.² He composed a Sanskrit conversational grammar called the *Gīrvāṇapadamaijari*³ in which conversation in Sanskrit on the daily life of a Benares Brahmin from morning to night is recorded in a simple but amusing style to enable junior students of Sanskrit to pick up the language quickly without frightening them with dry grammatical forms. The only imitation of the *Gīrvāṇapadamaijari* of Varadarāja, so far as I know, is the *Gīrvāṇapadamaijari* of Dhundirāja which is called नीवर्णव-
मञ्जरी at the beginning of the work.⁴ As this work appears to be an imitation of Varadarāja's work of the same name it is evidently later than about A. D. 1660. The evidence recorded in this paper tends to shift its date later than A. D. 1700 or so.

The *Gīrvāṇapadamaijari* (Ms No. 345 of 1892-95) informs us in its five preliminary verses that it was composed by Dhundirāja Kavi, resident of Benares. It further states the object of the work viz. to provide a sort of conversational grammar to the students of Sanskrit. The subject of conversation, which fills the entire work, consists of all the doings of a Brahmin householder of Benares from morn till eve. Accordingly the work begins with the early rising of the Brahmin. After some conversation with his wife the Brahmin proceeds for his daily bath to the *Maṇikarnikā Ghāt* on the bank of the river Ganges, but before he leaves his house he rebukes his indolent son still rolling in his bed. The son gets up and receives his father's instructions to proceed to the market for some purchases to be made in connection with the dinner to be given to Brahmins at his house at noon. The Brahmin then goes to the *Maṇikarnikā Ghāt*, recites the usual *Mantras* and finishes his bath in the Ganges. He then

* *Journal of S. M. Library, Tanjore*, Vol V, No. 3 pp 1-13.

1. Vide my paper on the date of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita in the *Annals of Tirupall Ori. Institute*, Vol. I, pp. 117-127.

2. Vide my paper on Varadarāja in the *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp 168-169

3. For *Maṇikā Aufrecht*, *Cata. Catalo*, p. 161.

4. The B. O. R. Institute (Govt. Mus Library) possesses three Mss of Dhundirāja's work — (i) No 21 of 1919-24, (ii) No 345 of 1892-95 and No. 13 of 1898-99 (dated Śaka 1762 = A. D. 1640). Ms No 21 of 1919-24 belonged to one 'आहिताग्नि पराजये वसुधाम'.

worships the God in the adjoining temple and then goes to a *Matha* which was the dwelling place of Benares Sanyāsins. There were many Sanyāsins in this *Matha*, among whom the Brahmin noticed an old corpulent Sanyāsin. Bowing low he approached this Sanyāsin and invited him cordially for dinner that noon. The Sanyāsin made inquiries about the caste of his host. The Brahmin replied that he was a *Mahārāṣṭra* (Brahmin). Thereupon the Sanyāsin accompanied the Brahmin to his house. The host then washed the feet of the Sanyāsin, with his own hands and seated him on a special seat. The Sanyāsin as also other Brahmins assembled were then served with sumptuous food. At the conclusion of the dinner the host gave a handful of cloves to the Sanyāsin, while he distributed *Tāmbūla* and *Dakṣiṇā* to other guests, who departed with their blessings for the host. The Sanyāsin then made some inquiries about the members of the host's family, including the women-folk. He also inquired about the studies conducted by the host in Bengal (*Gaudadeśa*) and at Benares. Then followed an interesting discourse on certain customs which were considered evil customs (*Durācāras*) in different regions of India, for instance the southern custom of marrying the daughter of maternal uncle, the fish eating by Brahmins of Bengal and the like. There was also some discussion between the host and the Sanyāsin on many matters of mutual interest. Just before the Sanyāsin took leave of his host, the host requested him to give him some particulars about his life as a householder. The Sanyāsin requested his host not to raise this question as it will bring to him memories of his past glory, which were very painful. As the host, however, was very eager to know something of this past glory the Sanyāsin narrated his story as follows —

Folios 12-13 of Ms¹ No 345 of 1894-95 (= A)

‘अरे पूर्वाश्रमे अस्माकं कर्नाटकदेशे चजीग्राम^२ एव तर्हि पूर्वाश्रमे अस्माकं कर्ता । श्रीमता को वा वृत्तिस्थिता । अरे तस्मिन्मपि मा पृच्छस्व । तस्मिन्मपि वक्तुं नोत्सहे । हन्त हे स्वामिनः मम

1. There is a Ms of the work in the India Office Library (Vide p 1574 of Cata. Part VII, 1901—Ms No 4103)

This Ms is described as “a collection of easy continuous sentences on ordinary domestic occurrences intended to serve as a primer and variously called भाषामञ्जरी, गीर्वाणवाग्मञ्जरी or गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिका compiled at Benares by Dhundirāja, son of Śrīrangabhaṭṭa. The Ms ends —

“श्रीरंगभट्टसुत-धुडिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिकादरेण ।

नीता समाप्तिमपि वा त्रिषुधा. सुधावत् । दृष्ट्वा पियन्तु सुरसा कृपयैव तावत् ॥ ”

2. Ms No. 21 of 1319-24 = B reads वीजापुरग्राम instead of चजीग्राम.

No 13 of 1533-33 (= C) merely states ‘कर्नाटकदेश ग्रामः.’ Neither चजी nor वीजापुर is mentioned.

श्रो(श्रो)नुमिच्छा वर्तते । आस्पमेव । अरे मया पूर्वाश्रमे न्य(व)मायवृत्त्या स्थितः । यदि
द्विह्रीधरस्य अमात्य असतवान् इति¹ तस्य पुत्र जुलफकारवान्² स यदा दिक्षिजयार्थं³ मागत-
स्त्वदा तस्य निकटे मया भूरिदिवपर्यन्तं न्यवयितम् । तदा अस्माकं निकटे सहस्रद्वय भग्ना⁴ स्थिताः ।
दशसहस्रपरिचाणः (राः ?)⁵ स्थिता चत्वारिंशद्वन्तिनः स्थिताः । बहवो उष्ट्राः स्थिताः । बहवो
रथा स्थिताः । तदा मन्त्रेहे चतस्रः पत्न्यद्वयः स्थिताः । कतिशो भारवाहकाः शकटाः स्थिताः ।
पूर्वमस्माकं गृहे शोडशदास्याः अतिसु(व)स्यां स्थिताः । तासां लावण्यं वर्तन्तु⁶ न शकुम्⁷ ।
तादृशी मम गृहीष्यपि नासीत् । ताः सर्वा मम सेवायां अति तत्परा स्थिताः । तासु एका अति-
शोभना स्थिता । तस्याः गुणः तस्या सौन्दर्यं किं वर्णनीयम् । केवलमपरा देवाङ्गनेव स्थिता ।
तस्या मम रुचिररीत्य स्थिता । मा चिना तस्या अपि न कुत्रापि नागतम् । अरे पूर्वं मम निकटे
कतिशो वारागना स्थिताः । ता मम चाहुनामतिके सदैव आसन् । तास्वपि एका अतीव लावण्य-
यती स्थिता । तस्या कण्ठस्य माधुर्यगीतनृत्यादिकं तथा बालापा निनयश्चैव वर्णितुं नैव शक्यते ।
अधुनापि यदा तस्याः स्मरणं जायते तदा मम मनः कुत्रापि न लगति । तर्हि वक्ष्ये स्वभवेत्⁸
तस्मिन्मम । अरे पूर्वं मद्गृहे प्रत्यहं शतसः ब्राह्मणा भोक्तारः स्थिताः । तैः साकं मया मुहुर्त्ताभ्य-
तरमेव भोक्तव्यम् । तथैव बहवो भक्षार्थिनः⁹ स्तथा कतिशो याचकाः । अन्येपि ये ये अर्थिनः सां प्रति
आगता तेषां सर्वेषां मनोवाञ्छितं मया दत्तं मम प्रभुतायां सत्यं मत्सकाशात् कोपि निराश्रयतया
नागतम् । पूर्वमेतादृशी प्रभुता स्थिता । अधुना अनुभूतमपि तत्सर्वं स्वप्नप्रायं आसते ।
तस्य स्मरणेपि महती न्यथा जायते । तर्हि स्वामिनः पूर्वमेतादृशी वैभवस्थितः सहसा
तत्सर्वं कुत्र गतम् । तत्र किं कारणं जातम् । अरे शृणु । मया कस्मिन् दिने योषिद्विः
सह रहमि सौधान्तरे स्थितः । तस्मिन् काले मम प्रभुणा आहारितः । द्विवारं आहूतः¹⁰
प्रेषितः । सौन्दर्यवपात्¹¹ सुखोत्कर्षं त्यक्त्वा न गतम् । तथा भूयोपि अनुचरः प्रेषितः । तथापि
मया न गतं दूतीकारणात् । अतीव क्रुद्धः तेन अकस्मात् एकस्मिन् मयानच्छेदेन¹² सहस्रचतुष्टयश्र-
राणां¹³ सेनानी प्रेषितः । तदा ममानुयायिनः सन्नद्धा¹⁴ स्थिताः । तदा तेन घटिकाद्वयाम्यन्तरं सर्वं

1 B 'यदा दन्तप्रस्थे अमात्यः अवतत्तान् इति'

2 B 'जुलफदारखान' and C 'जुलफगारखानः'

3 B, C 'दिग्विजयार्थम्'

4 B 'अध्वचारः'

5 B 'पादचाराः'

6 B 'वर्णितुं'

7 B adds 'सा कथंभूता । पद्मनेत्रद्वयं यस्याः वक्त्रं चन्द्रोपमं शुभम् । स्मरपाशोपमौ
कर्णौ कपोली चन्द्रकोऽऽवली ॥ नामिका तिलपुष्पाभा कामचापोपमौ भ्रुवौ । दशना हीरकैस्तुल्या
द्विदुसोपमिता धरा ॥ मयूरस्य कलापेन तुल्यं कचनिबन्धनम् । दासरेखात्रयेणापि कठदेशो विराजते ॥
स्वल्पं मध्यदेशे च मुष्टिप्राङ्गं तु केवलम् ॥ नाभिमण्डलमध्यस्थं लावण्यं केन गृह्यते ॥ रमोपमौ
उदयवे भुजौ कमलदण्डौ । चरणं स्थलकमलानं मणिमंडितनूपुरम् ॥ इत्यादि ।'

8 B 'स्वप्नम्'

9 B adds 'तथैव ब्रह्मार्थिनः'

10 B 'दूतः'

11 B, C 'सौन्दर्यवशात्'

12 B 'एकस्मिन्मयानच्छेदेन'

13 B 'अध्वचारणा'

14 B 'असन्नद्धाः'

लुङित । मामपि गृहीत्वा भुजवन्धनं^१ विधाय नीत । तदा प्रभुना अतीव निर्भर्त्सितम् । मासचतुष्टय-
पर्यन्तं तस्य कारगृहे स्थितम् । पश्चाच्छ्रद्धालामोचन जातम् । तद्दिनारभ्य मम मनसि अतीव अनुतापो
जात । तदाह सर्वकुटुम्बादिकं तत्का (त्यक्त्वा) कुरुक्षेत्रं गत । तत्र कियदिनपर्यन्तं ततो^२ अनुष्ठितम् ।
तत्रैव सन्यासो गृहीतः । पश्चादिह आगतम् । तर्हि स्वामिनः श्रीमतां तुर्याश्रमं गृहीत्वा कति
वर्षाणि जातानि । अरे मम द्वादश वर्षाणि^३ जातानि । एतावद्दिनपर्यन्तं तीर्थाटनं कृतम् । सांप्रतं
मासचतुष्टयं जातम् । रद्भागवत्य^४ अधुना सर्वं त्यक्त्वा मणिकर्णिका^५ सेवयामि । एव तर्हि सम्यक्
क्रियते स्वामिन ।

विश्वेश्वरसमो देव, क्षेत्र वाराणसीसमम् ।

मणिकरणसमं तीर्थं नास्ति ब्रह्माण्डगोलके ॥

एवमुक्तं वर्तते^१ etc.

The substance of the above interesting extract is as follows —

The Sanyāsīn in his life of a house-holder belonged to चजी or बीजापुर village in the Karnātak. The Emperor of Delhi had a minister named *Asatkhan*. His son *Zulfikar Khan* started on a military expedition and came to Karnatak. At this time this (Sanyāsīn) Brahmin was in his company for several days with 2000 horses, 10000 servants, 40 elephants and many camels and chariots. He had in his house four palanquins and several coolies and carts. He had in his house sixteen maid servants of unparalleled beauty who were extremely devoted to his service. His own wife was not so beautiful as these maid-servants. One of them was extremely lovely and for her he developed a special liking. She was always by his side, possessing, as she did, a sweet voice coupled with a proficiency in singing and dancing. She was a veritable celestial damsel. Even though he had become a Sanyāsīn a recollection of this damsel unsettled his mind as it was no more than a dream.

Formerly in his house hundreds of Brahmins were fed. He also fed many beggars and others who needed food. During the days of his power no person who wanted anything from him, went away disappointed as he granted the requests of every one, who approached him with any object in view. Such was the glory of the householder of old but now it looked like a dream and brought a very painful memory.

1 B 'चतुर्भुजम्'

2 B 'तपो'

3 B 'चतुर्मास्यानि'

4 B 'इहागत्य'

5 B adds 'विश्वेश्वरम्'

6 I have not noted all the variants but only important ones. Though the text is incorrect, the sense can be easily gathered as the text is written in the Paścātāntara prose style to a certain extent. The method of teaching Sanskrit composition as illustrated by the works of Varadarāja and his imitator Dhundirāja about 250 years ago has a modernistic touch. It remains to be discovered if our ancient teachers of Sanskrit adopted similar methods to create some interest among their students in the manner of these works.

On being questioned as to how and why all this glory of the householder disappeared, the Sanyāsin stated as follows. —

While the house-holder was absorbed in enjoyment in the company of young women he received orders from his lord (Zulfikar Khan). No attention was paid to these orders, so he sent a messenger a second time. Even then he did not leave the house, being absorbed in the enjoyment of the highest pleasure derived from his addiction to the beauty (of these young women). Zulfikar Khan sent a messenger for the third time and still this grandee paid no heed to his orders. This conduct enraged his master, who immediately despatched his commander with 4000 horsemen. All the followers of this grandee were unprepared and consequently within a very short time all the property of the grandee was looted and the grandee himself was hand cuffed and brought before his master (Zulfikar Khan) who severely scolded the grandee and kept him in confinement for four months. Later he was released. Since the day of his release the grandee was stung with remorse. He then went to Kurukṣetra (Delhi), abandoning his family etc., and there practised penance for some days. He then became a Sanyāsin and then went to Benares. Twelve years had elapsed since he became a Sanyāsin. After wandering to different holy places (tirthas) he resorted to Benares, where he had completed a four months' stay when his host¹ met him (and invited him for dinner). The Sanyāsin expressed his resolve to devote himself to *Maṅkarnikā*.

The host, after hearing this story of the early life of the Sanyāsin, expressed his admiration for the step taken by the Sanyāsin because it is said. —

"On this globe there is no parallel to the god Viśveśvara, his abode Benares and its holy place *Maṅkarnikā*."

I have now to make the following remarks on the *Story of the Brahmin grandee of Karnatak* as disclosed incidentally in the *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī* of Dhundirāja, the son of Śrīraṅgabhaṭṭa of Benares —

1. This story, though introduced in the work for literary embellishment, appears to me to be a true historical story. The story was too vivid to be idealised by our author by dropping its reference to *Āsatkhan* and

1 This host appears to me to be identical with Dhundirāja himself, the author of the *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī*. I have suggested in the sequel that this romantic story of the early life of the Sanyāsin is a true story inserted by our author in his work for literary embellishment. No such story appears in the *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī* of Varadarāja. Dhundirāja though an imitator of Varadarāja, is certainly original in inserting this romantic story with a tragic touch in his own work and thus relieving the monotony of his imitation.

his son *Zulfikar Khan* and their military expedition (दिग्विजय) to *Karnatak* on behalf of the Mogul Emperor (Aurangzeb) at Delhi.

2 Our Brahmin grandee was obviously in the employ of *Zulfikar Khan* or at least he paid his allegiance to this general and hence the latter is aptly called *Prabhu* or overlord of the former in the story before us.

3. The identification of this Brahmin grandee of *Karnatak* and his relation to *Zulfikar Khan* has become difficult as the name of the grandee is not recorded in the story and further while one Ms makes him a resident of चंजी¹ another Ms variant makes him a resident of चीजापुर. The third Ms drops any reference to these villages.

4. *Asatkhan*² mentioned as the minister of the Delhi Emperor and his son *Zulfikar Khan*³ are historical personages.

5. I am of opinion that the *Karnatak Digvijaya* (Expedition to *Karnataka*) by *Zulfikar Khan*, son of *Asatkhan*, is identical with his celebrated siege of Jinji (1690-1698 A. D.). It was a long drawn-out siege by the forces of Aurangzeb lasting for seven years or so. Rajaram Chatrapati, the second son of Shivaji the Great, ruled at Gingee or Jinji, where he was besieged by the Mogul forces under *Zulfikar Khan* for seven years and from which he finally escaped. This siege had captured the imagination of the people of the Maharashtra and the *Karnatak* so much

1 *Canji* = modern *Gingee*, a once celebrated hill fortress in South Arcot, 50 miles north east of Cuddalore and 35 miles north west from Pondicherry and at one time the seat of a Maratha Principality. It is spelt severally as *Gingie*, *Jinjee*, *Chengie*, *Chenjie* (Vide p 376, of *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, by Yule and Burnell) Yule observes — " *Ginji* or *Jinjee*, properly *Chenji*.

[*Shenji*, and this from Tamil Shingl, Skt. *Śringl*, a "hill" *Usages* — 1616 A. D. (*Ginja*), A. D. 1675 (*Chengie*), A. D. 1680 (*Chengy*), A. D. 1752 *Gingee*]

2 He is identical with *Asad Khan*, the prime-minister of Aurangzeb. He had gone to Jinjee to help his son *Zulfikar Khan* (Vide p 76 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakosa*) Beal in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1891, p 80) states that *Asad Khan* was descended from an illustrious family of Turkmans. His former name was *Ibrahim*. He was made second Bakshi by Shah Jahan. He held this office till 1671 A. D. Later he was made *Wazir* by Aurangzeb. Bahadur Shah made him *Wazir Mutlaq* (an office superior to *Wazir*) and his son Ismail was made chief paymaster (*Mir Bakshi*) with the title " *Umra Zulfikar Khan* " Farrukhshah, however, disgraced him and his son was put to death. He died 90 years old in A. D. 1717.

3. He is identical with *Zulfikar Khan*, the son of *Asad Khan* referred to above (A. D. 1657-1712) He laid siege to the fort of Jinji for 6/7 years (A. D. 1691-97) but it was a complete failure. He also invaded Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Farrukhshah put him to death in A. D. 1712 (Vide p 117 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakosa*) Beal (*O. B. Dict.*) p 420, does not refer to the Siege of Jinji laid by *Zulfikar Khan*. According to Vincent Smith (p 411 of *Oxford History of India* 1919) " *Zulfikar Khan* deliberately played with the siege of Jinji and purposely allowed Rajaram to escape. "

on those days that it found reflection in contemporary documents and literature.¹ It is no wonder, therefore, that it should capture the imagination and busy pen of modern historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari and others. In particular Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari's monumental volume on the "*History of Gingee and its rulers*" (Annamalai University Series No. 2) recently published reveals that this history has besieged its earned author for about 32 years since he first brought out an account of it in 1912 and I wonder, if Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari has yet succeeded in making his escape from this Gingee, like Rajaram of old. Chapter VII of this delightful volume is devoted to the Mughal Siege and Capture of Gingee" (pp. 286-350) 1690-1698 A. D. Some facts from this chapter may be noted below to enable us to understand the historical background of the reference to the *Karnataka Digvijaya* of Zulfikar Khan in the *Girvūṇapalamañjarī* of Dhundirāja —

June 1690—Zulfikar Khan (= Z) who invested Raigad, was despatched by Aurangzeb to Karnatak to crush the Maratta power at Jinji or Gingee.

Sept. 1690—Z reaches Gingee.

April 1691—The Mogal army under Z had become powerful and well provisioned for a serious assault — No decisive success for the imperialists in 1691.

December 1691—Asad Khan, the father of Z, and Prince Kam Baksh reach Gingee under orders of Aurangzeb.

1692 — The procrastination of Z in his operations.

1693 — Z and his father in great straits — Emperor displeased with Asad Khan.

1694 — Asad Khan restored to King's favour according to a letter from

¹ See the *Rajārāma Carita* by Keśava Paṇḍita (ed. by V. S. Bendre, Poona) which describes in Sanskrit verses the march of Rajarama Chatrapati to Jinji. Dr S. M. H. Nair published in 1931 a Tamil Maro Drama called "*Sejda K-Kadi Nondi-Natalam*" (*Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras University, Vol. IV, Part I). The author of the drama appears to have been a convert to Islam. The Drama is a contemporary picture of the siege of Jinji and is full of references to the Mogal commanders under Zulfikar Khan and Maratha commanders under Rajaram. The *Saṅkṣepaśāstrī* by Śrīdhara Venkate'a refers to the siege of Jinji (Vide p. 154 ff of *Indian Antiquary*, 1931). Rajaram received help from the then Raja of Tanjore —

‘यत्तैर्महाराज भवन्तिदिष्टादीन्द्रसैन्यानि विदूरितानि ।

स राजशमस्य तथाभिगुस्तदन्वति त्वा मद्गती यशः श्रीः ॥’

Vide *Annals* (B. O. R. Inst. Ind.) Vol. XX, pp. 235 ff — my article on same subject by K. R. Parthasarathy, the author of *राजायमचरित*.

Fort St. George -- Z renews siege operations, which were regarded as a mere show to deceive the Emperor.

1695--An uneventful year Z receives 3 lacs of rupees from the Mogul Court and captures a few forts from the Marattas. A large Maratta army under Santaji and Dhanaji Jadhav approached Gingee towards the close of the year

1696--Z feels extreme want of money Z defeats Santaji near Arni.

1697--Z renews attack on Gingee.

1698--Rajaram escapes with four or five thousand Marattas to Vellore according to a letter from Fort St. George-- Capture of Gingee by Z "between 28th December 1697 and 5th January 1698"--Z renamed Gingee as "Nasratgaddah" after his own title "Nasrat Jang"--Z appoints Gussafar Khan as Killedar of Gingee Zulfikar Khan left the Karnatak after about a year from the fall of Gingee.¹

Such in brief is the chronology of the *Karnataka Digvijaya* of Zulfikar Khan mentioned incidentally in the *Girvāṇapadamāñjarī* without any details. It is, therefore, clear that this work was composed some time after A.D. 1698. As regards the exact date of its composition I may note here the following facts which might enable us to fix this date within reasonable limits.--

1. The Brahmin grandee was in the employ of Zulfikar Khan some time after September 1690 when Z reached Gingee. Perhaps Z wanted to make use of him against the Marathas under Rajaram in the Gingee fortress.

2. Perhaps the arrest of this Brahmin grandee took place about A D 1691-92. If this suggestion is accepted we have to suppose that he migrated to Kuruksetra or Delhi after four months, imprisonment by Z and subsequent release. We may, therefore, suppose that he wandered outside Karnatak in Northern India as a Sanyāsīn for 12 years as stated by him between say A D 1690 and 1702 and then reached Benares.

3. The grandee was invited for dinner by his Benares host within 4 months of his stay at Benares in the Matha of the Sanyāsīns say in A D 1702-1703.

1. As Dhundirāja records the story of the Brahmin grandee as an event of fresh occurrence we may not be wrong in presuming that the *Girvāṇapadamāñjarī* was composed say between A. D 1702 and 1704.

1. Mr V. L. Kale of Belgaum has written a historical romance in Marathi called 'जिजीवास' or 'उपनि राजाराममहाराज' which describes how the machinations of Aurangzeb were successfully checkmated by the Marathas under Rajaram. An English translation of the romance by Mrs. Smith was published in 1933.

5. We may, however, tentatively fix the date of this work between A. D. 1690 and 1710. At any rate this grammatical work is definitely later than A. D. 1690 when Zulfikar Khan reached Gingee.

Having recorded the historical evidence to explain the story of the Brahmin grandee of Karnatak as recorded in a work composed at Benares after A. D. 1690 and possibly before A. D. 1710, I now turn to the question of deciding the native place of this grandee. In this connection the following points may be noted -

1. All the three Mss of the *Girvāṇapadamañjarī* before me state that the native place of the grandee was in Karnatak country (कर्नाटकदेशे)

2. One Ms mentions this native place as 'चंजीग्राम,' another gives us 'बीजापुरग्राम' while the third Ms does not specify the name. In view of the reference to the कर्नाटकदिग्विजय of Asat Khan's son Zulfikar Khan under orders of the Delhi Emperor as made in the work, I am inclined to believe that our Brahmin grandee belonged to चंजीग्राम and not बीजापुरग्राम. Zulfikar Khan left for चंजी in June 1690 and reached it in September 1690. There was hardly any time for him to camp at Bijapur (बीजापुर of Ms) and keep this grandee in confinement for 4 months after looting his property.

3. Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari¹, states that Gingee was called as follows by different people:-

(i) *Badshabad* by Bijapur authorities, who held the fort between A. D. 1660 and 1677.

(ii) *Chandry* or *Chindy* by Marathas.

(iii) *Nasrat Gaddah* by the the Moguls after 1698.

(iv) *Gingee* or *Jinji*, by the French.

(v) *Chingee* or *Chengy*, in early Madras records.

(vi) The fort has retained the name *Gingee*, the English form of the Tamil word *Senji*.

It is clear from the above names of Gingee that चंजी of the Ms of the *Girvāṇapadamañjarī* is identical with modern Gingee.

1. It is possible to suppose that this Brahmin grandee of Gingee was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin residing on the outskirts of the Gingee fort or in the Gingee territory about A. D. 1690. He must have joined Zulfikar Khan about this time but Zulfikar Khan found him too much addicted to the pleasures of life to be used in his *Digvijaya* and hence made short work of him and his property as explained by the grandee himself. Possibly the Brahmin host who entertained him at a dinner at Benares is

¹ K. V. Subramanyam, *History of Gingee and the Origin of its name Gingee*.

identical with Dhundirāja himself, the author of the *Girvāṇapadamañjarī*. When this work was being composed the author may have invited this Sanyāsīn for dinner and learned this story of his early life first-hand from the Sanyāsīn. This real story being colourful, romantic and vivid, the author could not avoid the temptation of pushing it in his work in its appropriate context.

I have given in the foregoing lines my interpretation of the story of the Gingee grandee as found in the *Girvāṇapadamañjarī* of Dhundirāja. This interpretation needs to be verified by scholars like my friend Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari who have made a close study of contemporary sources regarding the siege of Gingee (A. D. 1690-1698). Dhundirāja's work as also Varadarāja's work of the same name ought to be critically edited and kept before the students of the cultural history of Benares in the 17th century. I trust, therefore, that the present paper would attract the attention of scholars to the valuable cultural contents of these works which give us a peep into the cultural life of the Benares Brahmins in the 17th century, which produced celebrities like Gāgābhata, Jagannātha Paṇḍita-rāja, Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and others.

It appears that Dhundirāja the author of the *Girvāṇapadamañjarī* was a Brahmin of the *Madhva* sect as will be seen from the following evidence —

1. The Brahmin Sanyāsīn when invited for dinner by his Benares host inquired—

‘अरे त्व का वा जाति’ (What is your caste ?)

The host replied—

‘स्वामिनो अह महाराष्ट्रोऽस्मि’ (My good sir, I am a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin)

The Sanyāsīn said—

‘एव किञ्च । तर्हि माहाराष्ट्राणा गृहे अस्मादीना भिक्षात् अतीव शस्ता ।’

(If that is so, I very much prefer to have alms in the home of Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins)

The disguised identity of the Benares host with the author of the work is too transparent to be concealed.

2. In the discussion on evil customs (*durācāras*) of different provinces the Benares host tells the Sanyāsīn as follows —

‘महाराष्ट्रं विना सर्वासु जातिषु कश्चित् कश्चित् दुराचारास्तिष्ठत्येव । महाराष्ट्रेऽपि ये मध्वाः यतन्ते तेषां दुराचारस्य लवलेहोऽपि न दृश्यते ।’

(Among all castes excepting those in Mahārāṣṭra some kind of evil custom prevails. Even among Mahārāṣṭra people the members of the *Madhva* sect have no evil custom whatsoever)

The Sanyāsin observed —

‘ इदं त्वया सत्य उक्तं मयापि अनुमृतं वर्तते ’

(You have spoken the truth. I too have realised this truth.)

The host remarked —

‘ स्वामिनः नो चेत् अनृतमुच्यते किम् ’

(If I have not spoken the truth, do you think I have told you a false thing ?)

The foregoing extracts amply suggest that our author Dhunḍirāja was a *Mahārāṣṭra* Brahmin of the *Madhva* sect.

**20. Some Distinctive Names of Horses recorded by
Hemacandra in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, by
Somesvara in his Mānasollāsa and by
Jayadatta in his Āsvavaidyaka —
between A. D 1000 and 1200 ***

Hemacandra (A. D. 1088—1172) records in his lexicon, *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* the following names of horses according to their colours (varna) :—

No.	Name	Colour	Hemacandra's explanation J = जयदत्त, S = सोमेश्वर
1	कर्क	सित	करोति प्रमोद कर्क " कृगो वा " (उणा-२३) इति क. (<i>Amarakośa</i> mentions कर्क as the name of a white horse सितः कर्कः)
2	कोकाह (J—1)	Do	कोकवत् आहन्ति भुव कोकाह.
3	खोङ्गाह (J—2)	श्वेतपिङ्गल	खमुद्राहते खोङ्गाह , पृषोदरादिश्वात् , श्वेत- इचासौ पिङ्गलश्च श्वेतपिङ्गल
4	सेराह (J—6) (S—5)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूष अमृतं दुग्ध वा तद्वद्वर्णोऽस्य पीयूषवर्णः तत्र सीरवदाहन्ति भुव सेराह
5	हरिय (J—3)	पीत	हरि वर्णं याति हरिय
6	सुर्गाह (J—2)	कृष्णवर्ण	सुरैर्गाहते सुर्गाह.
7	क्रियाह	लोहित	क्रियां न जहाति
8	आनील. (J—8) (S—7)	नीलक	नील एव नीलक
9	त्रियूहः (J—9)	कपिल	त्रीन् सूयति त्रियूह
10	बोलाह (J—2I)	कपिल and डुकेसरवालधि	अयं त्रियूह एव व्योम्नि उदलद्भ्यते बोलाह

No.	Name	Colour	Hemacandra's explanation J=जयदत्त; S=सोमेश्वर
11	उराह. (J—14)	मनाक् पांडु and	उरसा माहन्ति उराह.
12	(S—13) सुरूहक. Of सरराहक (J—21)	कृष्णजड्व गर्दभाभ	सुषेन रोहति सुरूहकः
13	वोरुखान (J—15)	पाटल	वैरिण खनति वोरुखानः
14	कुलाह. (J—13)	मनाक् पीत कृष्ण स्यात् यदि जानुनि	कुलम् आजिहीते कुलाह.
15	उकनाह (J—16)	पीतरक्तच्छायः and कृष्णरक्तच्छाय	उच्चैर्नक्षत्रे उकनाह. । स एव उकनाह. कृष्णरक्तच्छायः सन् क्वचि- दुच्यते
16	शोण	कोकनदच्छवि.	शोणः शोणवर्ण.
17	हरिकः (J—8)	पीतहरितच्छायः	हरिरेव हरिक
18	हालक	Do	हलति क्षमां हालकः
19	पद्गल. Of पिटल (S—20)	सितकाचाभ.	पद्गलून् लाति पद्गुल
20	हलाह. (J—11) (S—18)	चित्रित	चित्रितो कर्पूरवर्णो हलवदाहन्ति हलाह.

Hemacandra concludes the above list of different horses (*Bhumi-kāṇḍa*, verses 303—309) with the remark “सोमहादयः शब्दा देशीप्रायाः । व्युत्पत्तिरूपेण वर्णानुपूर्वीं निधयार्थम्” (These names सोमहा and others are for the most part देशी Their derivation is based on the different colours of horses for distinctive purposes). The statement of Hemacandra that these names for differently coloured horses are “देशीप्रायाः” shows that he was not sure that they were definitely देशी words in all cases. It is, however, clear that these names were current in Hemacandra's time, i.e., in the 11th century. Let us now see if these names, or at least some

of them are traceable in other Sanskrit texts, not much removed in point of chronology from Hemacandra's time. In fact in the *Section on the game of Polo* called the वाजिवाह्यालीविनोद in the encyclopaedic work मानसोद्घात ¹ (or अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि) composed about A. D. 1180 (i.e., when Hemacandra was about 42 years old) by King Someśvara of the Cālukya dynasty we find some of these names recorded. In this section the king is advised to examine the different kinds of horses of different breeds and colours brought before him by the officer in charge of the horses. The king was to understand their kinds by the countries they came from. The names of different countries from which the horses took their origin are mentioned by Someśvara. He also mentions the distinctive marks on the body of a horse and classifies the horses according to colours and castes, which are four in number. He mentions further the peculiarities of different kinds of horses including those in respect of the formation of their bodies. Here he describes the पञ्चकल्याण and अष्टमङ्गल horses. The speeds of horses are then classified as, *high*, *middling* and *low*. Signs of bad horses are also recorded. The methods of punishing and breaking raw horses to make them fit for training are enumerated. When the training is complete these horses were to be used by the king. The best horse was to be fitted with the best saddle, ornaments, etc and used by the king

Before recording the names of horses according to colour (वर्ण) Someśvara observes —

“श्वेतं कृष्णोदरुणं पीतं शुद्धाश्वत्थारः पृथग् द्वि ।

मिश्रास्वनेकधा वर्णस्तेषां भेदं प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ ८२ ॥”

(*White, black, red and yellow are four pure colours. Mixtures of these are numerous and they will be stated and their distinctions pointed out*).

The following table will show at a glance the names recorded by Someśvara for horses of different colours and castes.—

1. Ed. in *G O Series*, Baroda, Vol. II (1939), pp. 211 ff See also Intro., p. 31.

No	Name	Colour	Caste	Description
क्रम	नाम	वर्ण	जाति	विवरण
१	कक (कं) (हे-१)	श्वेत	विप्र	केशा वालाश्च रोमाणि वर्णं चैव सुरास्तथा । इयैरेतैर्भवेदश्व कका(कां)हो विप्रजातिजः ॥८३॥
२	कत्तल	शुद्ध or श्वेत	...	पूर्ववत्सर्वशुद्धाश्च कृष्णा भवेद्यदि । वर्णनाम्ना स विज्ञेयः कत्तलोऽयं तुरङ्गमः ॥ ८४ ॥
३	काल	कृष्ण	शूद्र	लोमभिः केशवालेश्च त्वचा कृष्णः सुरैरपि । काल इत्युच्यते वाजी शूद्रः शौर्याधिकस्तथा ॥८५॥
४	कपाह (v. 1, कपाह) (हे-७)	रोहित	क्षत्र- जाति	केशप्रभृति वालान्तः सर्वादि रोहितो यदि । कपाह इति विख्यातः क्षत्रजाति तुरङ्गमः ॥८६॥
५	सेराह (हे-६)	काञ्चनाभ	वैश्य	केशैस्तनुरुहैर्वालैः काञ्चनाभस्तुरङ्गमः । सेराह इति विख्यातः वैश्यजातिसमुद्भवः ॥८७॥
६	चोर	सित + लोहित	...	सितलोहितरोमाणि सर्वाङ्गे मिश्रितानि च । मुखाग्निवालकेशेषु लोहितश्चोर उच्यते ॥८८॥
७	नील (हे-८)	सित + कृष्ण	...	केशवालाग्निपुण्ड्रे च मेचको रुरुस्निग्धः । नील इत्युच्यते वाजी सितकृष्णे तनूरुहे ॥८९॥
८	कया (पा) ह	कृष्ण etc.	...	पाटली पुष्पसका (शो) शानलकेषु सिततरः । कृष्णग्रन्थिकया (पा) होऽश्वः संग्रामे विजयप्रदः ॥९०॥
९	मोह	मधूक वलकल वर्ण	..	मधूकवलकलच्छायो मोह इत्युच्यते हयः ।
१०	जम्ब	पक्क जम्बू- फल वर्ण	..	पक्वजम्बूफलच्छायो जम्ब इत्यभिधीयते ॥९१॥
११	हरित (हे-५) (हे-१७)	पीत + लोहित	...	केशवालेषु पीतश्च लोहितो हरितो मतः ।
१२	सप्त(सि)- रुन्दीर	उन्दुर वर्ण	...	उन्दुरेण समच्छायः सप्त(ति)रुन्दीर उच्यते ॥९२॥
१३	उराह (हे-११)	मेचक + पीत + लोहित	..	केशकेशरपुच्छे च जानुनोऽवश्च मेचकः । सर्वाङ्गलोहितैः पीतैरुराहः कथ्यते हयः ॥९३॥
१४	गण्ठ (मण्ठ) वर्ण	शोण etc	...	शेष(शोण)स्तेष्वेव देशेषु सर्वाङ्गे क्विचिदुज्ज्वलः । रक्तेरुत्पादितः पृष्ठे गण्ठ(मण्ठ)वर्णस्तुरङ्गमः ॥९४॥
१५	पन्च- कट्याण-	पाण्डुर	...	येन केनापि वर्णेन मुखे पुच्छे च (पाटेषु) पाण्डुरः । पञ्चकट्याण नामाय भाषितः लोमभूसुजा ॥९५॥
१६	अष्टमण्डा (द्वग)ल	पाण्डुर	...	देशेषु वदने पुच्छे वक्षो पादे च पाण्डुरः । अष्टमण्डा(द्वग)लनामा च सर्ववर्णेषु शस्यते ॥९६॥
१७	धौतपाद	श्वेत etc	...	श्वेतः सर्वेषु पाटेषु पादयोर्वापि यो भवेत् । धौतपादः स विज्ञेयः प्रशस्तो मुखपुण्ड्रकः ॥९७॥
१८	हलाह (हे-२०)	श्वेत etc	...	विशालः पट्टकैः श्वेतैः स्थाने स्थाने विराजितः । येन केनापि वर्णेन हलाह इति कथ्यते ॥९८॥
१९	वरन्ध	चित्रित	...	चित्रितः पाश्वर्देशे च श्वेतैर्बिन्दुचन्द्रमार्कैः । यो वा को वा भवेद्वर्णस्तुरङ्गः कथ्यते हयः ॥९९॥

No. क्रम	Name नाम	Colour वर्ण	Caste जाति	Description विवरण
२०	पिंगल(cf. हे १९).	सित + कृ० इ०	..	सितस्य बिन्दुन कृष्णा स्थूला सूक्ष्माः समन्ततः । दृश्यन्ते वाजिनो यस्य पिङ्गल स निगद्यते ॥ १०० ॥
२१	बहुल or मलिन	श्वेत + श्यामल	..	श्वेतस्य सर्वगात्रेषु श्यामला मण्डला यदि । एके त बहुल प्राहुरपरं मलिन बुधाः ॥ १०१ ॥

On a comparison of the above list of *Someśvara* with that of *Hemacandra* we find that the following names of horses are common to both the lists —

- (1) कर्क, (2) सेराह, (3) नील or नीलक, (4) उराह, (5) हलाह and possibly (6) पिङ्गल or पंगुल

This is not a mere coincidence. Though *Someśvara* was ruling in the Deccan and *Hemacandra* was living in Gujarat, there was constant mutual contact of both these provinces. Hemacandra's patron king Kumārapāla twice invaded Konkan and king Mallikārjuna of the Śīlāhāra dynasty was killed in one of these invasions¹. It is just possible to suppose that some of the horse-lore of the Deccan must have migrated to Gujarat and vice versa as it was of great value to kings engaged in constant warfare.

Some of the names of horses recorded by *Someśvara* and *Hemacandra* in the 11th century are also found in a special treatise on horses called the *Āśvavaidyaka*² of Mahāsāmanta Jayadatta, son of Vijayadatta. In the list of drugs at the end of the edition, which the editor states, have been mentioned by Jayadatta, I find अहिफेन or opium (on p 3). If this statement is correct I have to observe that this treatise was composed after the Muslim advent in India as opium is not known to Indian literature prior to the Muslim advent³ in the 8th century A. D. Perhaps this treatise was

1 Vide मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S Chitray Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 240 — See verses 41—70 of प्राकृत हस्तायकाव्य (Canto VI) which describe Kumārapāla's march to Konkan

2 Ed. by Umefa Candia Gupta, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1886 — Verses 98—110 of Chapter 3 deal with kinds of bones according to colour (or वर्ण), pages 89—93.

3 The geographer Al-Idrisi visited Anahillapura, the capital of Jayasinha Siddharaja (A. D. 1032—1143), the patron of हेमचन्द्र

(Continued on the next page)

composed between c. A. D. 800 and 1200 A.D. The treatise on horses called the अश्वचिकित्सित by नकुल edited in 1887 by the editor of Jayadatta's work in the *Bibliotheca Indica* does not contain the names of horses recorded by Hemacandra, Someśvara and Jayadatta. Chapter 3 of Nakula's work contains, however, a description of horses according to colours (वर्ण) with different names but these names are Sanskrit and not "देशीयाः" as those mentioned by Hemacandra. I record in detail in the following table the special names of horses according to their colours mentioned by Jayadatta in his अश्ववैद्यक :—

क्रम	नाम	वर्ण	विवरण
१	कोकाहः (हे-२)	श्वेत	श्वेतः कोकाहः इत्युक्तः
२	खुल्लाहः (प. १.- पिप्पलाह) (हे-३)	कृष्ण	कृष्णः खुल्लाह उच्यते
३	हरितः (हे-५ और १७)	पीतक	पीतको हरितः प्रोक्तः
४	कपायः	रक्तक	कपायो रक्तकः स्मृतः
५	कपाहः (सो-८)	पद्माल- निभ	पद्मालनिभो वाजी कपाहः परिकीर्तितः
६	सेराहः (हे-४) (सो-५)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूषवर्णः सेराहः
७	सुरूहकः (हे-१२)	गर्दभाभ	गर्दभाभः सुरूहकः
८	नीलः (हे-८) (सो-७)	नीलक	नीलो नीलक एवाश्वः

(Continued from the previous page)

He states — "The city is frequented by a great number of Mussulman merchants who resort to it in business. They are well received by the King." (Vide p. cxlvii of Intro. to *काम्यानु-
शासन* by R. C. Parikh, Bombay, 1939).

९	त्रियूहः (हे-९)	कपिल	त्रियूहः कपिल स्मृत.
१०	खिलाहः (v 1- शिलाह)	कपिल	खिलाहः कपिलो वाजी पाण्डुकेशरवालधि
११	हलाहः (हे-२०) (सो-१८)	चित्रल	हलाहः चित्रलश्चैव
१२	खङ्गाहः (v. 1- श्वङ्गाह)	श्वेतपीतक	खङ्गाहः श्वेतपीतकः
१३	कुलाहः (हे-१४)	ईषत्पीत	ईषत्पीतः कुलाहस्तु यो भवेत्कृष्णजानुकः
१४	उराहः (v. 1- उदहः) (हे-११) (सो-१३)	कृष्ण + पाण्डु इत्यादि	कृष्णा चास्ये भवेत्लेखा पृष्ठवशानुगामिनी । उराह. कृष्णजानुस्तु मनावपाण्डुस्तु यो भवेत् १०४
१५	वेरुहानः (v 1- वीरुहणः) (हे-१३)	पाटल	वेरुहानः स्मृतो वाजी पाटलो यः प्रकीर्तितः । रक्तपीतकपायोत्थवर्णजो यस्य इत्यते ॥ १०५ ॥
१६	उकनाहः (v 1- दुकुलाहः (हे-१५)	देहज वर्ण with	उकनाह स विख्यातो वर्णो वाहस्य देहजः ।
१७	कोकुराहः	मुसपुङ्क	कोकाहः पुण्ड्रकेणाश्वः कोकुराह प्रकीर्तितः
१८	खरराहः	..	खरराहश्च सङ्गाहो (पुण्ड्रकेण)
१९	हरिरोहकः	.	हरिको हरिरोहक (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२०	सुराहः	...	कुलाह. .. सुराह. (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२१	सुरराहकः (cf सुरुहकः हे-१२)	..	वाटलाहः सरराहकः (पुण्ड्रकेण) (हे-१०)
२२	वीरराहः	..	वीरराहः वीरराह (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२३	दुरराहः	.	दुकुलाहः .. दुरराह (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२४	त्रियुराहः	चित्रलान्न	त्रियूह त्रियुराहश्च चित्रलान्नश्च यो भवेत्

I have tried to tabulate the horse-nomenclature in Jayadatta's अश्ववैद्यक as best as I could understand it. This nomenclature is different from that given in the treatise on horses by शालिहोत्र which is frequently referred to by Jayadatta. In Jayadatta's time the old terminology had fallen into disuse and consequently Jayadatta has recorded the nomenclature that was current in his time, as such a record had a practical utility. In fact Jayadatta expresses this object of his nomenclature in the following verses —

“ चक्रवाकादिनिर्वर्णैः शालिहोत्रादिभिः स्मृतैः ।

पाटलाद्यैश्च लोकस्य व्यवहारो न साप्रतम् ॥ ९८ ॥

तस्मात्प्रसिद्धकान्वर्णान् वाणिनां देहमम्भवान् ।

समासेन यथायोग्यं कथयाम्यनुपूर्वशः ॥ ९९ ॥ ”

It will be seen from the three lists of the names of horses according to colours (वर्ण) tabulated by me in this paper that the lists of Jayadatta and Someśvara (A. D. 1130) are more exhaustive than that of Hemacandra. These three lists together containing many common names give us a vivid idea of the horse lore current say in the 11th and 12th centuries. This horse lore is definitely connected with the foreign horse trade with India that was going on in Indian ports after about 800 A. D. as I have shown elsewhere.¹ Hemacandra says that this nomenclature is “ देशीयाय”. I have reason to believe that some of these names are either Persian or Arabic and they may have come to India along with Persian, Arabic, Turkish and other foreign breeds of horses that were imported to India as vouched in detail by Marco Polo's Travels (A. D. 1298). Marco Polo's account of the foreign import of horses is further supported by the following account of the horse-trade at a Malabar port called *Kūyal* about A. D. 1290 recorded by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar² —

Kūyal was a well sheltered port at the mouth of Tamaraparani in the Gulf of Manar in the south, not far from the far-famed *Korkai* (*Kolkhoi* of the classical geographers). There was a prominent trade settlement at *Kūyal*—about A. D. 1290, where an agency was established by an Arab Chieftain, Malik al-Islam Jamalu-d-din ruler of Kis, and later the farmer-general of Fars. According to *Hūssaf*, about this time as many as 10,000 horses were imported into *Kūyal* and other ports of India of which 1100 were to be of *Jamalu d din's* own breed. The average cost of each horse

¹ *Vide Annals* (B. O. B. Inst. etc, Poona), Vol. XXVI, pp. 103-105.

² *Vide* pp. 70-71 of *South India and the Muslim Invasion*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1911.

was 220 *dinars* of 'red gold.' The cost even of those that died on the way was paid by the *Pāṇḍya* King for whom they were imported. *Jamalu-d-dīn's* agent was a brother as it seems, *Takiud d dīn Abdur-Rahman*, son of *Muhammadu-t-Thaibī* described as *Marzaban* (Margrave). This agent had his headquarters at *Kāyal*, and had the other ports of *Fitan* and *Malī Fitan* also under his control. This description means that he was the agent-general for the import trade of the Arabs in this part of the country, as according to the same authority the trade of this region in those days was very great, both in volume and value. In the words of *Wassaf* "Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam to Nilawar (Nellore) nearly three hundred *parasangs* along the sea coast, and in the language of the country the king is called *Dewar*, which signifies the lord of empire. The curiosities of *Chin* and *Machin*, and the products of *Hind* and *Sind* laden on large ships (which they call junks) sailing like mountains with the wings of winds on the surface of the water, always arrived there. The wealth of the islands of the Persian Gulf in particular and in part the beauty and adornments of other countries, from *Irak* and *Khurasan* as far as *Rum* and *Europe* are derived from *Ma'bar*, which is so situated as to be the Key of Hind" (Elliot, iii. 32).

The above graphic description of foreign trade of India in general about A. D. 1290 and the horse-trade in particular will explain the genesis of the horse-names according to their colours recorded by Hemacandra, Someśvara and Jayadatta. We note with special interest that out of 10,000 horses imported into *Kāyal*, 1400 were to be of *Jamalu d dīn's* own breed. In this connection I have to point out that the horse-name "वोरखान" mentioned by Hemacandra may have been derived from some breeder of horses of the name वोरखान. If this surmise is found to be correct, Hemacandra's explanation of this name "वैरिण खनति वोरखानः" is pedantic and imaginary like his explanations of other horse names recorded by him. Hemacandra mentions the वोरखान horse as having पाटल colours. Jayadatta mentions "वेरुहान" or "वोरुहण" horse with पाटल colour. I think the terms "वोरखान" and "वेरुहान" are identical. They may indicate some Arab breeder of horses of this name as I have observed above.

In the present paper I have succeeded to a certain extent in linking up the horse-nomenclature as found in three different Sanskrit sources which are more or less contemporary ¹ I have now to request all

¹ Out of 20 names of horses in Hemacandra's list about 15 are found in Jayadatta's list. This agreement leads us to infer that Hemacandra and Jayadatta are not much removed from each other in their chronology, especially when we remember that Hemacandra has recorded
(Cont. nued on the next page)

scholars interested in this nomenclature to throw more light on it from non Sanskrit sources, which are likely to contain some special treatises on horses like *Xenophon's* Greek treatise and the Sanskrit treatises of *Śālihotra*, *Jayadatta*, and *Nakula*.

(Continued from page 180)

these names as current in his time. Secondly Jayadatta expressly states that he has recorded the current names as the old terminology given by *शालिहोत्र* and others had fallen into disuse.

21. A Rare Manuscript of Rāmacandra- daya, an Unknown Mīmāṃsā Work by Bāla Gāḍegila (Between A.D. 1675 and 1775)*

In the Rajapur Pāṭhaśālā Sanskrit Manuscripts Collection there is a small collection of Mss called the Shevade¹ Collection acquired in 1931. Through the favour of my ever alert friend Pandit Raghunatha Śāstri Patankar in charge of the above collection I could get for examination a rare Ms of a *Mīmāṃsā* work called the *Rāmacandra-Candrodaya* composed by one “ बाल गाडेगिल ” or Bālaśāstri Gāḍgil. The Ms consists of about 77 folios² on thin and worn-out country paper. The size of the Ms is 9½ ins. by 4 ins. Each folio contains about 11 lines, each line containing about 33 letters. The Ms appears to be about 150 years old It begins as follows --

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीरामार्पितसर्वस्वः श्रीरामाग्निप्रसादतः ।

मीमांसाभाट्टगुप्तार्थान्विवृणोमि यथामति ॥ १ ॥

धातुतट्टकृत्कारकायः खंडदेवैर्निरूपितः ।

गाडेगिलेन बालेनावशिष्टार्थो निरूप्यते ॥ २ ॥

धर्मो द्वादशलक्षण्यामुक्तो जैमिनिना स्फुटः ।

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासेत्यादिना विवृणोमि त ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीतर्काग्नि समुत्सृज्य खंडदेवैस्तु कौस्तुभः ।

चलाबलाधिरूपणपर्यंत प्रकटीकृतः ॥ ४ ॥

मीमांसाब्धे खंडदेवैर्यावान् कौस्तुभ उद्धृतः ।

ततोऽवशिष्ट श्रीबाल उद्धर्तुं यतवेऽधुना ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीरामाभ्यावपर्णाय मीमांसाद्याग्निर्कौस्तुभा ।

मीमांसाब्धेरुद्धरति बालो गाडेगिलोऽधुना ॥ ६ ॥

विनयो गुरुसंप्रदायसिद्धो

गुरुपुण्यैरखिलैरवाप्यते ।

* Journal of G Jha Research Institute, Vol IV pp 105-111.

1 The Mss in the Shevade Collection bear the following printed label --

“विस्तारगोष्ठेणग्रामनिवासिभिः शेषदोषाह्वैः श्रीनोर्विदशापितनुजैः शिवरामशर्मभिर्गणभूतस्य
स्वापितु. स्मरणार्थं पितृमृद्दीतोऽय ग्रन्थ. परमप्रीत्या समर्पित. शके १८५३ मार्गशीर्षमासे ”

2 All the folios are damaged at one corner by moths, some portions of the text on each folio have thus been lost.

सुकुमार कुमारिलीय वा

रचनेनैव मया स दृश्यते ॥ ७ ॥

तद्विद्वांसानुगृह्यतु चित्तध्रोत्रैः प्रसादिभिः ।

सतः प्रणयवाक्यानि गृह्यति ह्यनसूयवः ॥ ८ ॥

न चांद्रातीन कर्तव्य दीपदृष्टिपरं मनः ।

दीपोद्यविद्यमानोपि तच्चित्तानां प्रकाशते ॥ ९ ॥

कुतो वा गृह्यते दीपं सूर्यो मद्विधोक्तिषु ।

नेष्यते यः परस्यापि स स्वयं गृह्यते कथं ॥ १० ॥

निर्दीपत्वैकवाक्यत्वं क्व वा लोकस्य दृश्यते ।

सापवादायत केचिन्मोक्षस्वर्गावपि प्रति ॥ ११ ॥

आगमप्रवणश्चाहं नापवाद्यः स्वलज्जपि ।

न हि सद्वर्मेना गठन् स्खलितेष्वपोद्यते ॥ १२ ॥

यथा कथचिदारब्धा त्रयोमार्गानुसारिणी ।

वागवृत्तिरत्यसारापि श्रद्धाधानस्य शोभते ॥ १३ ॥

मीमांसाशास्त्रतज्जोभिर्विदोपेणोज्ज्वलीकृते ।

वेदार्थज्ञानरत्ने मे नृणातीव विजृम्भते ॥ १४ ॥

गाडेगिलेन बालेन लिखितं पठितोत्तमैः ।

शोधनीयं विचार्यैव भूष्यं च सुविचारतः ॥ १५ ॥

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा अथ वेदाध्ययनानंतरं etc.,

The Ms contains references to a few works and authors as follows .—

- (1) सड्डेर and his कौस्तुभ—fol. 1 , (2) जैमिनी—fol. 1, 2 ; (3) कुमारिलीय fol. 1 , (4) बाल गाडेगिल (author) fol 2 ; (5) कापिलानाम् fol 2 ; (6) भाष्य-वात्तिक fol 8, 11 , 13, 71 , (7) भाष्यकार—fol. 9 (8) भगवान् सूत्रकार. -- fol. 10 ; (9) शास्त्रदीपिकायाम्— fol 10 , (10) न्यायसुधाकार --folio 11, (11) पार्थसारथिना folio 12, 31, 40, 55 , (12) वार्तिककृद्भ्य -- folio 12, 23, 25, 52, 55, 60, 75, (13) विष्णुपुराणे—folio 13, (14) योगिमाहेश्वरादीना मत--folio 18, (15) महाभाष्योक्ते —folio 24 , (16) चौद्रे —folio 27 (" वीचीतरगादिन्यायः "), 29 ; (17) नैयायिकायानाम्-- folio 28, 37, 40, 56 , (18) वार्तिका --folio 35, 43 , (19) भवदेवीया.—folio 40 , folio 41—Colophon -- " इति श्रीनरहरि . भीरानचद्र ... शिष्येण .. विरचिते ... प्रपक्ष ... सपूर्णः ॥ अथानुमान निरूप्यते " (the name " तर्ककौस्तुभ " is written in the margin near the Colophon), (20) वार्तिके—folio 41, (21) भाष्ये—folio 42; (22) तर्कभाष्ये—folio 43 ; (23) न्यायप्रख्यानमालायाम्—folio 47; (24) वेदे विद्वा --folio 43, Folio 54-- " अथोपमानं निरूप्यते । उपनिषद्भरणमुपमानं " ; Folio 60-- " जयायांपत्ति निरूप्यते । " ; Folio 70--" इत्यायांपत्ति ॥ जयानुपलब्धिनिरूप्यते ॥ " ; (25) भगवान् पत-त्रलि. —folio 73, Folio 77 (3) " इति श्रीमन्नानचद्रचंद्रोदयेऽनुपलब्धिनिरूप्यः सपूर्णः ॥ " —

Folio 77 (b)—“अथ शब्दो निरूप्यते”. The Ms breaks on this folio and ends with the words “... वृक्षोमही...”

From the foregoing data gathered from this Ms we get the following information — (1) The author of this *mīmāṃsā* work is “बाल गाडेगिल” (See verses 2, 6, 15). (2) The name of the work is “रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय” as stated in the colophon on folio 77 (a). The name “तर्ककौस्तुभ” has been recorded in the margin near the colophon on folio 41. (3) The author may have been a pupil of “श्रीरामचंद्रसरस्वतीपूज्यपाद” as stated in the colophon on folio 41 and as appears from the name of the work viz. “रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय” recorded in the colophon on folio 77 (a). Some later hand has scratched out the expression “सरस्वतीपूज्यपाद” from the colophon on folio 41 viz. “श्रीरामचंद्रसरस्वतीपूज्यपादशिष्येण etc.” (4) The present work “रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय” was composed by बाल गाडेगिल with a view to supplementing the work of खण्डदेव viz कौस्तुभ or मीमांसा-कौस्तुभ (verse 2 “अवशिष्टार्थो निरूप्यते” and verse 5 “अवशिष्ट उद्धर्तुं यतते”). Perhaps this statement is responsible for the title “तर्ककौस्तुभ” entered by a later hand on folio 41. (5) Verse 1 at the beginning uses the expressions, “श्रीरामार्पितसर्वस्व.” and “श्रीरामांग्रिप्रसादतः” which may suggest that the author was a devotee of God श्रीराम and a pupil of a *guru* of the name श्रीराम. The title “रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय” is in harmony with this suggestion.

As the present work mentions the great *mīmāṃsaka* of Benares, viz., *Khaṇḍadeva* and his work “*Kaustubha*,” it is later than him. In my paper on the “Chronology of the works of *Khaṇḍadeva*” in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, I have recorded the following dates of *Khaṇḍadeva* and his works —

A. D. 1641—Date of a Ms of his भाट्टदीपिका.

A. D. 1657—Signature of *Khaṇḍadeva* on a निर्णयपत्र,
drawn up at सुक्तिमंडप at Benares.

A. D. 1660—Date of a Ms of his मीमांसाकौस्तुभ at the B. O. R. Institute.

A. D. 1664—Date of India Office Ms of भाट्टदीपिका.

A. D. 1665—Date of *Khaṇḍadeva*'s death recorded by his pupil यशुभट्ट in A. D. 1708.

In view of the above chronology we may safely conclude that *Bāla-Gūḍegila*, the author of the *Rāmācandra-Candrodaya* is later than A. D. 1665 and is possibly earlier than A. D. 1800 in view of the age of the

ujapur Ms of the *Rāmacandra candrodaya* as observed by me already in this paper. Accordingly we may tentatively put *Bāla Gāḍegila* between say D. 1675 and 1800.

The surname "Gaḍegila" is current among the Chitpāvan Brahmins Mahārāṣṭra at present. As Bāla Gāḍegila does not record his parentage or other particulars about himself or his family it is difficult to identify him. However, let me attempt his identification on the strength of Marathi records of the period, A. D. 1700 to 1800.

The Gujarati poet Deva Śaṃkara in his *Alaṃkāramāñjūṣā* (edited by L. Katre, Ujjain, 1940) refers to an eminent Paṇḍita of the name "वाल-
जनास्त्रि" (highly honoured by Peshwa Madhav Rao I) in the following verse—

“अयं न दोषो न गुह्यं मिथो
न चाक्षिपाद्यपि सुरेशवन्द्यः ।

सुपूजितो माधवरायराज्ञा

श्रीवालकृष्णमिधनास्त्रि एषः । ”

For identifying the *Bālaḥṣṇaśāstri* of the above stanza myself and Mr. Katre searched in contemporary records. The result of this search is recorded by Mr. Katre in Appendix B (pp. 289-297) of his edition of the *Alaṃkāramāñjūṣā*. The name-sakes of *Bālaḥṣṇa Śāstri* found in contemporary records are as follows—

(1) *Bālaḥṣṇa Dikṣita Pāṭaṅkar*, holding great influence with the Peshwas.

(2) A list dated 10-8-1773 (*Peshwa Daftar* Vol. 32, Pages 107-112, Document No. 192) mentions charities given away by Ramābāī, wife of Peshwa Mādhav Rao I, prior to her committing *Sati*. This list mentions one वालकृष्णनाथि to whose wife some jewels were given away by Ramābāī.

(3) *Peshwa Daftar* Vol. 13, Page 33—Document No. 38 dated 3-1-1772 addressed to Peshwa Madhava Rao I, is a letter by one Kupṛā Śāstri of Kumbhakoṇa, in which he binds himself not to carry on medical practice in future.

This document is endorsed by witnesses among which we find the signature of one *Bālaḥṣṇa Śāstri Jānīrdan Śāstri Gāḍegila* as follows—

“साक्षी—

वालकृष्णनाथी जानार्दननाथी गाडेगिल नृसिंहनाथी काशीनाथनाथी दिवेकर” etc.

(1) *P. D. Vol. 32, Document No. 191* dated 3-6-1773 is a list of charities given away at the *Sati* of Ramābāī to persons of Peshwa's royal circle. This document shows a recipient “उधुनीचार्ड गाडेगील” receiving

Rs. 2000. Mr. Katre suggests by way of a guess that this *Lakṣmībāi Gāḍagīla* may have been the wife of बालकृष्णशास्त्री गाडेगिल referred to above.

(5) Grant Duff in his *History of the Marathas* (4th Edn. 1878), Vol. I, Chap XXI, Page 623 mentions one "Bāl Kīshen Gargeel" as head of the Poona Nyāyāluish, or Court of Justice, associated with Bālājī II, who appointed him about A.D. 1749 as his first न्यायाधीश or Chief Justice. In 1759 Rāma Śāstri Prabhune succeeded this Bāla Kṛṣṇa Śāstri.

I am concerned in the above references with the name-sakes of "बाल गाडेगिल", the author of the *Rāmacandra Candrodāya* (see Nos. 3 and 5 above). In particular the form of the surname "गाडेगिल" in the signature "बालकृष्णशास्त्री जनार्दनशास्त्री गाडेगिल" on a document of 3rd April 1772 is exactly identical with that recorded by the author of the *Rāmacandra-Candrodāya*, who calls himself "बाल गाडेगिल" in three different verses in the introductory portion of the work. If this identification is accepted we are led to conclude that the author of the *mīmāṃsā* work before me in the form of the Rajapur Ms was living in A. D. 1772, presumably as a highly respected old Paṇḍita at Poona. Whether this *Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri Gāḍegīla* is identical with "Bāl Kīshen Gargeel," the *Nyāyādhiśa* of the Peshwa, say between A. D. 1749 and 1759 as stated by Mr. Katre, cannot be definitely determined at present.

It is difficult to say what other Sanskrit authors of the Gāḍgīl family flourished before A.D. 1800. I know only one such author viz, Vaidyanātha Gāḍagīla, the author of a commentary on the *Tarka Samgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa, called the *Tarkacandrikā* represented by Ms No. 736 of 1882-83 (folios 37) in the Government Mss Library at the B O R. Institute, Poona. This Ms was written in Śaka 1644 (=A.D. 1722) by one Jayarāma. The colophon of the Ms reads as follows —

“इति श्रीगाडगिलोपनामक रामकृष्णभट्टास्मजवैद्यनाथभट्टकृततर्कचंद्रिका स ॥ ६ ॥”

It is clear from this colophon that the author of this commentary is *Vaidyanātha Rāmacandra Gāḍgīla*, who is evidently earlier than A. D. 1722, while *Bāla Gāḍegīla*, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā* work *Rāmacandra-*

1 I note some names of persons of the Gāḍgīl family, which I noticed while studying the subject of the present paper —

(1) *Sarmatipatra* of Benares Pandits dated 1865 A.D. bears the signature “गाडगीलोपाह्व सीतारामशर्मणः” (See p 31 of Appendices to R. B. Gunjikar's, *सरस्वतीमंडल*, Bombay, 1891).

(2) *शेषशार्ङ्ग* by N G Chapekar (1937), pp. 114 (शार्ङ्ग), केशवभट्ट, 81, कोंडोजीनाजी, 223.—“केशवभट्ट” गाडगील सातारकर” (p. 81) is referred to in a document of A.D. 1777. Other persons are of later date.

Candrodaya is later than A. D. 1700. In what way *Vaidyanātha* is connected with *Bāla* cannot be determined at present. I hope some members of the *Gāḍgil* family, who may be interested in the history of their family, will try to trace in their genealogies these two *Gāḍgīla* authors, one of whom belongs to the 17th century, while the other belongs to the 18th century.

22. A contemporary Sanskrit tribute to the musical talents of Tānasena, the greatest musician of Akbar's court, and its historical Perspective *

For any Indian National Biographical Dictionary, if such a work is undertaken by our National Government in future years, the reconstruction of the life-history of every celebrity of ancient and mediaeval India is absolutely essential. Such a life-history must be based, as far as possible, on contemporary sources. During the last twenty-five years I have published papers on numerous Sanskrit authors and their works. In these papers I have taken care to record every bit of information about the life-history of these authors, based on documentary evidence. I have also brought to light many authors and historical personalities, unknown to the historians of literature, culture and political history. Recently I published a paper¹ on Vidyādhara, the Bengali architect of Seval Jaipur, who was a minister of Maharaja Seval Jaising of Amber (A. D. 1699-1743) and recorded in it some contemporary tributes to this great Bengali from his contemporaries. It is necessary to record in a similar manner contemporary tributes to other celebrities in the domain of literature, music, art and allied subjects with a view to getting an authentic picture of their life-histories.

I propose in the present paper to record a contemporary tribute to TĀNSEN, the celebrated musician of Akbar's court, about whom we hear many stories, sometimes of a mythical character.

In the *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa* by S Chitrav Shastri (Poona, 1937, p. 424) I find the following information about Tānsen —

* *Journal of S. V. Ori. Institute*, Tirupati, Vol VIII, Part I, pp 1-8

1 Vide pp 285-294 of *Dr C Kishan Raja Volume*, Madras, 1946. Since the publication of this paper I have received the following additional information about Vidyādhara from my friend Mr. Bimalacharan Deb of Calcutta in his letter of 4-12-1946 — "You will be interested to know that about 42 years ago (to be precise in 1911 Bengal style, corresponding to 1901-05 A. C.) an article on Vidyādhara appeared in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patricā* of Calcutta. In this article a fair amount of information was given regarding him personally and his family and descendants and also the times in which he flourished. In that article there is a half-tone reproduction of a painting, showing Vidyādhara and his eldest son Murīdhara. This painting, the writer says, was in the possession of Surajbux, a descendant of Vidyādhara. The painting is "old style", but the writer does not say if it was contemporary or not." I have to thank Mr. Deb very much for the above information, unknown to me. I have requested Mr. Deb to publish a summary of the Bengali article on Vidyādhara in some Oriental journal along with the picture of Vidyādhara and his eldest son.

"TĀNSEN—(c. A. D. 1560) He was a *Gauḍa* Brahmin by caste. His father's name was Makaranda Pāṇḍe. He was resident of Gwalior. His father made a vow to a Muslim saint Muhammad Ghosa for the birth of a son. Tānsen was born as a result of this vow. The previous name of Tānsen was TANNAMITRA. He had an extraordinary imitative faculty. He could imitate the sound of any animal perfectly. Once a saint of the name Haridāsa Bābā was staying in his garden. Having observed Tānsen's imitative faculty the saint requested Tānsen's father to give Tānsen in his charge with a view to making Tānsen an expert musician. The father agreed to this request and Tānsen learnt music from Haridāsa Bābā and then returned to Gwalior

Later the fame of Tānsen reached Emperor Akbar, who brought him to his court where he was included among the nine jewels of the court. Akbar honoured him very much.

He has composed many *dhruṇapadas* in different *rāgas*, some of which are his own inventions. In some of these *dhruṇapadas* he has incorporated the name of his royal patron, Akbar. He died at the age of 63 years. The *rāgas* invented by him are *Miyā Malhūr*, *Miyā Tōḍī*, *Miyā Sārang* etc.

Once Tānsen and Akbar together listened to the singing of Tānsen's *guru*. At this time Akbar questioned Tānsen. Why should there be so much difference between your singing and that of your *guru*? Tānsen replied that his *guru* Haridāsa Bābā sings according to his mood but he himself has to sing in obedience to Akbar's wishes."

In the above account of Tānsen's life and achievements the editor of the *Caritra'ōśa* has not recorded the source from which he has drawn the information about Tānsen; hence it is difficult to verify it.

In the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by T. W. Beale (revised by H. G. Keen, London, 1894) page 400, I find the following remarks on Tānsen :—

"TĀNSEN—A celebrated Hindi musician or Singer who flourished in the time of Akbar and was employed by him. He was originally in the service of a *Rājā* named Rāmchand and was sent to court at the special request of the Emperor. He died in the 31th year of that monarch's reign A. D. 1553, A. H. 950."

The musicians in India, both vocal and instrumental, ever since the Musalmān conquests, who have been highly esteemed and whose names

are handed down to posterity with much respect by different authors, are as follows —Gopāl, Amīr Khusro, the poet, Baijū, Bhāno, Pāndwā, Bakshū Lohang, Sultan Husain Sarqī of Jaunpur, Rāja Mān of Gwalior, founder of the *dhurpad*, in whose time also lived the four following — Chārju, Bhagwān, Dhondhī and Dalu Tansen, Subhān Khān, Sūrgayān Khān of Fathapūr, Chānd khān, and his brother Sūraj khān, TANTARANG KHAN, the son of Tānsein, Madan Rāe, Rāmdās and his son Sūrdās, a blind moral poet and musician, Bāz Bahādur, Mundia, Mian Pand, Mian Daud Mulla Is-haq, Shaikh Khizir, Shaikh Beichū, Hasan Khān Teini, Sūrat Sein and his brother Lālā Deibī, Mirza Aquil, Mian Shori, Ghutāmī, Lal Khān¹ Nilam Prakāsh, and the *Bin* players, Fīroz khān and Naubat khān."

Beale's account of Tānsen is evidently based on non-Sanskrit sources. I record below a tribute to Tānsen and his musical talent from a contemporary Sanskrit Kāvya called the *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya*, composed by its author Mādhava about A. D. 1555 according to Dr. Hiranand Shastri. Canto X of this Kāvya deals with the reign of Rāmacandra, the Baghela ruler of Rewa, who was a patron of Tānsen. This Rāmacandra is identical with Rāj Ramchand mentioned as Tānsen's employer in Beale's article on Tānsen. This canto tells us that Rāmacandra was a great patron of music. He lavished his munificence on Tānasena, the renowned musician of India, to whom, being pleased with his *dhurpadas* he gave countless wealth. Tānasena was music incarnate. His *dhurpadas* became very famous and are sung even now. The following verses of Canto X refer to Tānasena and his enchanting *dhurpadas* and *rāgas* which had made a name for him before A. D. 1555, when this Kāvya was composed —

Page 121 — 122

‘गान्धर्वविद्यामयदेहभाजे यस्तानसेनाय कलाविदेऽदात् ।

राग प्रतीह प्रतिवानमेतत् प्रतिध्रुपश्चोदितशशङ्कटङ्गाः ॥ २६ ॥

अष्टौ स यामान् नयति स्म तेन रागादिना तत्समुदीरितेन ।

वर्षादिकाल गमयन् महीन्द्र सोऽवागम तत्र (ऽवागमत्तत्र) निमेषमात्रम् ॥ २७ ॥

हाहाहुहु (हू) तुम्बुरुनारदायै क्वचित् क्वचित् काचन भाति विद्या ।

स सर्वभाषाचतुर समस्तविद्याधरोऽसौ विधिना व्यधायि ॥ २८ ॥

भूतो भविष्यन्नपि वर्तमानो न तानसेने सदृशो (नसमो) धरण्याम् ।

तथा (ऽ) प्रसिद्ध्या त्रिदिवेऽपि मन्ये नैतादृश कोप्यनवधविद्य ॥ २९ ॥

1. Edited by K. K. Lala and Anant Shastri Upadhyaya with Text and Translation into English together with a critical analysis by Hiranand Shastri. Published by the Rewa Darbar, 1903 — The rare MS of the *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* was written at Banars by a *khayastha*, Tulidāsa, son of Kṛṣṇadāsa in A. D. 1591.

हुल्लंध्यशैलोपरिमित्युमध्ये द्वीपान्तरालेऽपि विले वने च ।
 श्रीरामचारित्रसुधानिपिक्ता यस्य ध्रुपज्जीवति सर्वकालम् ॥ ३० ॥
 तत्रैव तत्रैव वचो विलासा यत्रैव (यत्रैव) जनाश्रयन्ति ।
 यत्रैव यत्रैव वचासि नून सा तानसिनोक्तिरुदेति तत्र ॥ ३१ ॥ ”

The free translation of the above stanzas as given by the editors is follows :—

- “ 26. Tānasena, the celebrated singer of his court, was indeed music incarnate. Rāmacandra gave a crore of silver *ṭaṅkas* for every tune he sang.
27. He passed the whole day in listening to his songs and considered the succession of seasons as an instant in duration.
28. Tānasena was conversant with all languages and all the niceties of the art of singing and seemed to surpass the celestial songsters Hāha, Hūhū, Tumburu and Nārada.
29. Tānasena had no equal in the past and present times and probably none would equal him in the future and in the heavens also there is none so proficient.
30. Immortal are his strains, which pervade the universe and are steeped in the nectar of Rāmacandra's glories.
31. Wherever human speech shows its excellence Tānasena's songs are sung. ”

From the above Sanskrit tribute to Tānasena of c. A. D. 1555 we may now turn to *Amī-Akbarī*¹ of c. 1590 A. D., in which we get the following information about this greatest musician of Akbar's court—
 'Page 406— “ 89 Rājāh Rāmchand Baghelah ... Rāmchand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tānsin, regarding whom vide the List of Musicians at the end of this book. His fame had reached Akbar; and in the 7th year the emperor sent Jalāluddīn Qūrchi (No. 213) to Bhat to induce Tānsin to come to Agra Rāmchand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite with his musical instruments and many presents to Agra, and the first time that Tānsin performed at the court the emperor made him a present of two lakhs of

1. Trans. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I (Lah. Indica) Calcutta, 1883. Pages 406, 475, 612, 613 a—Footnote 1 on Page 612 by Blochmann reads—“ Regarding Tānsin, or Tānsin, or Tānsin, vide p. 406. Rāmchand is said to have once given him one crore of *ṭaṅkas* for his *dhruv*. Ibrahim Surkhani persuaded Tānsin to come to Agra. Akbar had millions like him. Tānsin, and the Rāmchand (H.S. as mentioned, 1555) mentioned above is of the name *Ṭāns* ”

Rupees. Tānsin remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān."

Page 475 - "213. *Jalāl khān Qūrchī*—Akbar was much attached to him. In the 5th year, he was sent to Rāmchand Bhagelah (No. 89) with the request to allow *Tānsin* to go to court."

Page 612 - "*Imperial Musicians* ... His Majesty pays much attention to music musicians at court, *Hindus, Irānis, Turānis, Kashmīris*, both men and women *Principal musicians*.

1. *Miyān Tānsen*. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.

2. *Bābā Rāmdās* of Gwalior, a singer"

(names of 34 more musicians are recorded here)

Page 613 - footnote 3:—"During Shah Jahān's reign we find JAGANATH who received from Shah Jahān the title *Kabrā*; Dirang Khān and Lāl Khān who got the title *Gunsamundar* (ocean of excellence) Lāl khān was son-in-law to Bilās, son of Tānsen. Jaganāth and Dirang khān were both weighed in silver and received each 4500 Rupees"

The statement of Blochmann that *Rāmchand* gave one crore of *tañkas* to Tānsen as present is corroborated by the *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* (X 26) which states—

“गान्धर्वविद्यामयदेहभाजे यस्तानसेनाय कलाविदेऽदात् ।

रागं प्रतिहप्रतितानमेतत् प्रतिधुपस्कोटिशशाङ्कटङ्काः ॥ २६ ॥”

Ramchand gave one crore of *tañkas* for every *dhruvada* Tānsen sang.

Vincent Smith in his *Akbar the Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1917), p. 50, states that Bāz Bahadur, the king of Malwa, was an expert in music and song and “like Tānsen, was reputed to have received instruction from *Adalī* or Muhammad Shāh Ādil, the last of the Sūr kings (*Badāoni*, tr. Ranking, i. 557)”

The *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* (X. 13) refers to इंदिलि in the following stanza —

“स इंदिलिस्त्वं शरणागतोऽभूत् स्वयं सुरत्राणमहम्मदादि ॥ १३ ॥”

Dr. Hiranand Shastri has identified सुरत्राणमहम्मद इंदिलि with *Sultān Muhammad Sūr Adalī* (vide p 17 of his *Critical Analysis*), who gave instruction to Tānsen in music. It is interesting to note that this reference to (Tānsen's guru) इंदिलि or *Adalī* occurs in the very canto in which we find the verses referring to Tānsen and his musical talents (X. 26-31)

Speaking of "*Tānsen and music*" Vincent Smith observes (pp. 61-62 of *Akbar the Great Mogul*) —

"Akbar, although engaged in so much troublesome business in various departments, was not indifferent to the pleasures of life. He took special delight in music and song and seems to have had a considerable knowledge of the technicalities of those arts. About this time (1562) he required Rājā Rāmchand of *Bhat* Rewā to send to court *Tānsen* of Gwalior, who was universally recognized as the premier musician and singer of the age. *Tānsen*, who became a *Musalman* subsequently, was received with marked favour and liberally paid. He is credited by Abu-l Fazl with having introduced 'great developments' into his art. Conservative Hindu musicians take a different view and accuse him of having falsified the traditional *rāgas*, two of which, *Hindol* and *Megh*, have disappeared since his time. Such critics hold that the influence of *Tānsen* was deleterious to the musical science of India.¹ It would seem possible that he may have violated the ancient Hindu canons and sought to modernize his art by making changes to suit Muslim taste. Few people have a right to express any positive opinion on the subject and the author of this book is not included among those few."

On p. 100 of his *Akbar*, Smith gives an account of the surrender of Kālanjar by Rājā Rāmchand of Rīwā A. D. 1569 and refers to the Rājā as "the chief who had surrendered *Tānsen*, the musician, to Akbar's demand." On p. 59, Smith mentions the personal friends of Akbar, called the "nine jewels" (Blochmann, *Am*, Vol. 1, p. 174, No. 205, and the *naurātna* picture in the Victoria Memorial Collection, Calcutta. — The *naurātna* or "nine jewels" meant nine friends namely Rājā Birbal, Rājā Mānsingh, Rājā Todar Mall, Hukim Humām, Muḥlā Dūpiyāza, Faiz Abul Fazl, Mirza Abdu'r rahīm, Khān Khānan and *Tānsen*.) On pp. 122-123 Smith makes the following remarks about *Tānsen* —

"All authorities and traditions are agreed that the best performer at Akbar's court was *Muḥlā Tānsen* whom Akbar in the 7th year of the reign had required the Rājā of Rīwā to surrender. Abul Fazl declared that "a singer like him has i

1. "A H. Cox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan*, 1883 (Oxford, 1913) for a theory of the Hindu *rāgas* as "musical modes" and that work and *Am*, p. 200. The subject remains extremely obscure. The concluding section of *Am* 12, Book II of *Am*, in Blochmann vol. 1, pp. 611-13 deals with the music and of the imperial court. See also Ch. XV, *Am*."

been in India for the last thousand years." He was a close friend of Sūr Dās, and like many of his contemporaries, received much of his musical education at Gwalior, where Rājā Mān Singh Tomār (1486-1518) had founded a school of music. Tānsen became a Muhammadan, assumed or was given the title Mīrzā, and is buried in Muslim holy ground at Gwalior. Unfortunately, he permitted himself to be ensnared by the prevailing vice of Musalmans in that age. His talents included the composition of verse. The date of his death does not seem to be recorded but he certainly continued to serve in the court of Jahāngīr (For Akbar's music and Tānsen see *ante* chap 11; *Āin*, Vol. 1, pp 51 (*Āin*, 19 with plates) and 611, *A. N.*, 11, 279; Grierson *Vernacular literature* No. 60 etc, *A. S. R.*, 11, 370, with description of Tānsen's tomb, A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan*, Oxford, 1914, p 83. Jahāngīr confirms Abul Fazl's opinion of Tānsen's skill (Jahāngīr R B, 1, 413) Tānsen is labelled as *Mirzā* in the *nauratna* drawing Rājā Mān Singh Tomar of Gwalior must not be confounded with his namesake, the Kachhwāha of Amber (Jaipur) A good full length portrait of Tānsen, on a small scale, is included in a well executed picture of Jahāngīr's reign, depicting a court-group, which is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society)

On p 484 Smith refers to the *Portraits of Akbar's friends* and contemporaries. About Tānsen's portrait he writes —

"The Sketches in Vol. lvi of the Johnson Collection, already mentioned, include some worthy of reproduction. The best is No. 44, a slightly tinted sketch of Tānsen, the musician. A good full-length portrait on a small scale of the same personage is included in a picture of Jahangir's time, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, and hung on the staircase."

The foregoing extracts from Vincent Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul* give valuable information about the life and achievements of Tānsen but they do not contain any information about the career of Tānsen at the court of Rāmachandra, the Baghela king of Rewa.

Some information about Tānsen has been recorded in the *Mahārāstriya Jñānakośa* by S. V. Ketkar. I note some points from this information —

Vol. XV (1925) (३) २२ तानसेन गद्यं a *Gauda Brūhmaṇa* — tradition about his acquiring proficiency in music from a *Gandharva*. — Akbar's

favourite—His original connection with a Hindu Raja, Ramacandra.—Tradition about Akbar going as a bearer of musical instruments to hear the music of Tānsen's *guru* Haridāsa Svāmī—picture of Tansen, available (see *ज्ञानकोश* Vol. V, p. 181)—Death of Tānsen in A. D. 1568, thirty four years after Akbar's coronation—His name is so much respected among musicians that at the bare mention of his name they twist up their ears and bow to him—His tomb at Gwalior [अ. कोश, स. का. सूचि]

Vol. V (1922) pp. 183-184—तानसेन (in the article on the history of Indian Music)—Development of court in Akbar's reign.—Tānsen was one of the pupils of a Hindu Saint, *Haridāsa Svāmī* residing at Vrndāvan on the banks of Jumna. Tradition about Akbar's visit in disguise to *Haridāsa Svāmī*—Raja Mansingh of Gwalior, a great patron of music, supposed to be the originator of *dhrupad* music—Two classes of Tānsen's followers:—(1) रजासियर and (2) बीनकार—Tānsen invented a musical instrument called रवाव—He also used बीणा or बीना—These two classes of Tānsen's followers are still found at Rampur.

I close these notes on Tansen with a request to my South Indian friends to record any references to this celebrated musician in datable South Indian sources, Sanskrit or non Sanskrit.

23. *Vāstuśiromaṇi*, a work on Architecture by Śaṃkara, the Guru of Śyāmasāha, son of Mānanarendra — After c. A. D. 1550 *

Aufrecht records the following MSS of a work on architecture called the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* —

CC I, p. 568 — “ वास्तुशिरोमणि arohit Pheh. 9.

— by Maharaja Śyāmasāh Śaṃkara, N. P. 92 ”

CC II, p. 224 — Do — Ulwar 1963

All the MSS mentioned by Aufrecht in the above entries are inaccessible to me.

In 1947 my friend Śrī P. A. Mankad of Sabarmati presented to the B. O. R. Institute a Devanāgarī copy of a MS of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi*.¹ This copy was obtained in 1927 by Śrī Mankad from Pandit Bhavanī Dutt, late Secretary to the Maharaja of Tehri (Garhwal) through Pandit Narahari of Badrinath. The original MS from which the present copy was made consisted of 83 folios, each folio containing about 10 lines on a page. The present copy consists of 153 pages, each page containing about 18 lines, and each line containing about 26 letters

The MS begins as follows —

“ श्रीमङ्गलमूर्त्ये नम ॥

गण्डन्या...धरोलम्बमवानन्दकर वरम्

लम्बोदरमहं वन्दे मिन्दूरयुतिसुन्दरम् ॥ १ ॥

केलीकदम्बे त्रिहिताऽवलम्बो विद्याधरालम्बितरम्यवेणुः ।

सुविशुद्धम्भोदनिभ प्रभुर्मे पीताम्बर इयामतनुस्तनोतु ॥ २ ॥

पुष्पाणामिव वृष्टयः सरभस वृन्दारकैः कल्पिता

वेतालैर्बहुमङ्गलाय कुतुकादुक्षितलाजा इव ।

नृत्तोद्भूतशशाङ्कशेखरजटाजूटाचलप्रस्तल

गङ्गाम्भ कणिकाममाऽभिलषितं कुर्वन्तु विघ्नक्षतिम् ॥ ३ ॥

पर्युद्यत्प्रकटप्रतापविजितक्षमापालकश्रीभव —

* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXXV, pp. 35-41.

1 Śrī Mankad's endorsement on this MS reads as follows —

“ वास्तुशिरोमणि compiled by गुवराहर at the behest of King इयामशाह of Tehri State. ”

व्यूहमौलिमणिप्रभातिसुभगप्रोत्तुमिहासनः ।
दानोद्यरकरकल्पवृक्षजनितासद्गुयातकल्पकुम्भ
धीमान् नाननरेन्द्रजो विजयते धीश्यामसाहो नृपः ॥ ४ ॥

तद्विद्धिः परिशीलितानि बहुशस्तन्त्राणि सद्गुयावतां
पूर्वेणा प्रविलोक्य सारमखिल ज्ञात्वा सक्षेपतः ।
शाहस्यास्य नृपाज्ञया बुधवरः श्रीमान् गुरः शङ्करो
रम्यं वास्तुशिरोमाण वितनुते विद्वज्जनप्रीतयं ॥ ५ ॥

ग्रन्थ कोषि.....इभावगहनो विस्वारदुःस्येऽपर.
कश्चिन्मानविहीनवास्यनिलयो निःकर्महीन परः
सक्षिप्ता सरला प्रमाणमहिता निःकर्मयुक्ता तु मे
हे धीरा. परिगृह्यता कृतिरियं सद्रूपं सन्धारिणी ॥ ६ ॥
सन्तः कदाचिदिह चेदवधानहानि-
दांस्यं विधेयमिह नैव तदा भवद्भि ।
उद्वेऽपि राजति मणौ वणिज प्रयरनैः
कुर्वन्ति शुद्धतमयो गुणयोगमेव ॥ ७ ॥
गृहस्यस्य क्रिया. सर्वा न सिद्ध्यन्ति गृह विना ।
यतस्तस्माद् गृहारम्भः कर्तव्यो गृहिभिः सदा ॥ ८ ॥”

The MS ends as follows on p. 123 —

“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्यामसाहगुरुशंकरकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ गृह-
प्रवेशनं नामाऽष्टमं प्रकरणम् संपूर्णम् । मण्णाय ग्रन्थः श्री सन् १९२८ का चैत्र २६
गते छेत्तीद पुस्तकम् मावगानन्देन श्रीधरानन्दशर्माणालोकनाथम्”

This copy was prepared by the scribe Mādhyānanda for the use of Śrīdharānanda in Samvat 1928 (= A. D. 1872). Vāstuśiromaṇi is the work of Śaṅkara, the guru of King Śyāmasāha. References to works and authors mentioned in the MS are as follows. —

- (1) धीश्यामसाहो नृपः — p. 1.
- (2) गुरः शंकर — p. 1.
- (3) केशवपद्धतौ — p. 2, 4, 9, 10, 13, 16, 31, 32, 36, 41, 42, 43.
- (4) नस्यपुराणे — p. 2, 6, 7, 13, 14, 18 (मास्ये), 20, 51, 52, 58.
- (5) नारदमहिलायाम् — p. 2, 6, 9, 17, 18, 23, 24, 74 (नारद), 134.
- (6) नारदपञ्चरात्रे — p. 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 76, 90 (पञ्चरात्रे)
- (7) नर्गः — p. 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 29, 32, 38, 135.
- (8) दौनके — p. 4, 5, 15, 21, 33, 41, 43, 52, 126.
- (9) केशवपद्धतेन — p. 5.
- (10) वराहमिहिरादीनाम् — p. 6, 8, 11, 12, 52, 53, 63, 67, 71, 82.

- (11) वसिष्ठसंहितायाम्—p. 6, 17, 24, 41, 91.
 (12) ज्योतिर्गर्गे p. 7.
 (13) गौतमेन—p. 8
 (14) पराशर—p. 9, 63.
 (15) वशिष्ठः—p. 10, 12, 15, 19 (वाशिष्ठे), 29, 30, 32, 42, 49, 52, 75.
 (16) दीपिकायाम्—p. 10.
 (17) विश्वकर्मणि—p. 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 37, 80, 120, 138, 140
 (18) चूडामणौ—p. 13
 (19) सग्रहे—p. 14, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, etc

Page 14—“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज इयामसाहगुरुशङ्करकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ भूपरी-

क्षण प्रथमम्”

- (20) रत्नकोषे—p. 15, 17.
 (21) हेमाद्रौ p. 16, 23.
 (22) राजमार्तण्डे—p. 18, 136
 (23) महेश्वरः—p. 19
 (24) विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—p. 21.
 (25) सर्वसमुच्चये—p. 23, 27 (समुच्चये)
 (26) यवनेश्वरे—p. 23
 (27) श्रीपति—p. 28, 38, 41, 141, 153.
 (28) त्रिविक्रमपद्धतौ—p. 29, 49, 52, 58, 59, 74, 75
 (29) अग्निपुराणे—p. 29.
 (30) वसंतराजः—p. 29
 (31) जगन्मोहने—p. 30
 (32) गारुडे—p. 39.
 (33) वास्तुतन्त्रे—p. 42, 76

Page 48—“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज इयामसाह गुरुशङ्करकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ
काळादिनिरूपणं नाम द्वितीयं प्रकरणम्”

- (34) भरतशास्त्रे—p. 58.
 (35) चिन्तामणौ—p. 60
 (36) वास्तुफलप्रदीपे—p. 62, 76 (वास्तुप्रदीपे), 141
 (37) वास्तुविद्यायाम्—p. 63.

Page 69—“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज वास्तुनिरूपणं नाम - तृतीयं प्रकरणम्”

- (38) कूर्मयामले—p. 70.
 (39) वास्तुशास्त्रे—p. 75, 87 (वास्तुशास्त्रकाराः)

- (40) सूर्याभिदाते - p. 75.
 (41) सिद्धान्तशिरोमणौ - p. 77.
 (42) वार्षिकतन्त्रे - p. 77.
 (43) न्यवहारतिलके - p. 77.
 (44) रानवाजपैय्यान् - p. 77, 90.

Page 78 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज शल्यादिनिरूपण नाम चतुर्थं
 प्रकरणम् "

- (45) ब्रह्मसंभुः - p. 78
 (46) शाङ्गधरः - p. 78.
 (47) कइयप. - p. 86
 (48) छद्मोपपरिनिष्टे - p. 90
 (49) शारदातिलके - p. 90
 (50) क्रिष्णाक्षतन्त्रे - p. 99, 103, 116, 117.
 (51) ज्योतिर्गंगोवि - p. 100, 111.
 (52) द्विरण्यगर्भ. - p. 103.
 (53) तंत्रोत्तरे - p. 105.

Page 106 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज गृहारभस्तत्त्वरूपादि कथन नाम पंचम
 प्रकरणम् "

- (54) नन्दी - p. 108.
 (55) भरद्वाज - p. 121.

Page 124 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ..द्वारत्नरूप तद्वेधकथनम् नाम षष्ठ प्रकरणम् "

- (56) ज्योतिषवृत्तिशिरोमणौ - p. 152.

Page 146 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज प्रकीर्णं नाम सप्तम प्रकरणम् "

The foregoing list of references gives us a good idea about the literature made use of by the author of the *Vāstuśiromani* in the eight chapters (*prakaraṇas*) of his treatise on architecture. I shall now consider the chronological value of some of these references for fixing the earlier terminus for the date of the *Vāstuśiromani* as follows. —

No. 21 — हेमाद्रि — Possibly Hemādri's work on dharmaśāstra called the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* is referred to. Hemādri's date is about A. D. 1260.

No. 22 — राजनामिण्डर — This appears to be a work on *jyotiḥ* by King Bhoja of Dhara (c. A. D. 1050)

No. 27 — जीवति — He is the author of some astronomical works. He flourished about A. D. 1050.

- (11) वसिष्ठसंहितायाम्—p. 6, 17, 24, 41, 91.
 (12) ज्योतिर्गर्भे p. 7.
 (13) गौतमेन—p. 8.
 (14) पराशर—p. 9, 63.
 (15) वशिष्ठः—p. 10, 12, 15, 19 (वाशिष्ठे), 29, 30, 32, 42, 49, 52, 75
 (16) दीपिकायाम्—p. 10.
 (17) विश्वकर्मेण—p. 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 37, 80, 120, 138, 140
 (18) चूडामणौ—p. 13.
 (19) समग्रहे—p. 14, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, etc

Page 14—“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज इयामसाहगुरुशंकरकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ भूपरी-

क्षण प्रथमम्”

- (20) रत्नकोषे—p. 15, 17.
 (21) हेमाद्रौ p. 16, 23.
 (22) राजमार्तण्डे—p. 18, 136
 (23) महेश्वरः—p. 19
 (24) विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—p. 21.
 (25) सर्वसमुच्चये—p. 23, 27 (समुच्चये).
 (26) यवनेश्वरे—p. 23
 (27) श्रीपति—p. 28, 38, 41, 141, 153.
 (28) त्रिविक्रमपद्धतौ—p. 29, 49, 52, 58, 59, 74, 75
 (29) अग्निपुराणे—p. 29
 (30) वसंतराजः—p. 29.
 (31) जगन्मोहने—p. 30
 (32) गारुडे—p. 39.
 (33) वास्तुतन्त्रे—p. 42, 76

Page 48—“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज इयामसाह गुरुशंकरकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ
कालादिनिरूपणं नाम द्वितीयं प्रकरणम्”

- (34) भरतशास्त्रे—p. 58.
 (35) चिन्तामणौ—p. 60
 (36) वास्तुफलप्रदीपे—p. 62, 76 (वास्तुप्रदीपे), 141
 (37) वास्तुविद्यायाम्—p. 63.

Page 69—“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज वास्तुनिरूपणं नाम -तृतीयं प्रकरणम्”

- (38) कूर्मयामले—p. 70.
 (39) वास्तुशास्त्रे—p. 75, 87 (वास्तुशास्त्रकाराः).’

- (40) सूर्यसिद्धांते - p. 75.
 (41) सिद्धान्तशिरोमणौ - p. 77.
 (42) वार्षिकतन्त्रे - p. 77.
 (43) न्यवहारतिलके - p. 77.
 (44) रामवाजपेय्याम् - p. 77, 90.

Page 78 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज सत्यादिनिरूपणं नाम चतुर्थं
 प्रकरणम् "

- (45) ब्रह्मसूत्रम् - p. 78
 (46) शाङ्गधरः - p. 78.
 (47) कश्यपः - p. 86
 (48) छत्रोगपरिनिष्टे - p. 90.
 (49) शारदातिलके - p. 90
 (50) किरणारण्यतन्त्रे - p. 99, 103, 116, 117.
 (51) ज्योतिर्गंगांघ्रि - p. 100, 111.
 (52) हिरण्यगर्भः - p. 103.
 (53) तन्त्रोत्तरे - p. 105.

Page 106 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज गृह्यारम्भस्तत्स्वरूपादि कथनं नाम पञ्चमं
 प्रकरणम् "

- (54) नन्दी - p. 108.
 (55) भरद्वाजः - p. 121.

Page 124 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज .. द्वारस्वरूपं तद्वेधकथनम् नाम षष्ठं प्रकरणम् "

- (56) ज्योतिषवत्प्रशिरोमणौ - p. 152.

Page 116 - " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज प्रकीर्णं नाम सप्तमं प्रकरणम् "

The foregoing list of references gives us a good idea about the literature made use of by the author of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* in the eight chapters (*prakaraṇas*) of his treatise on architecture. I shall now consider the chronological value of some of these references for fixing the earlier terminus for the date of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* as follows —

No. 21 — हेमाद्रि — Possibly Hemādri's work on dharmaśāstra called the *Caturtargacintāmaṇi* is referred to. Hemādri's date is about A. D. 1260.

No. 22 — राजमातङ्गः — This appears to be a work on *jyotiḥ* by King Bhoja of Dhara (c. A. D. 1050).

No. 27 — जीपति — He is the author of some astronomical works. He flourished about A. D. 1050.

- Na. 3* — केशवपद्धति — This work is quoted freely in the *Vāstuśiromaṇi*. It is a work on *jyotiṣ* by Keśava, also known as केशवी or जातरूपद्धति. This author flourished about A. D. 1496 (see p. 258 of *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikṣita, Poona, 1896).
- No. 41* — सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि — This is the celebrated work on astronomy by Bhāskarācārya composed in Śaka 1072 = A. D. 1150 (see p. 246 of *Hist of Ind Astronomy* by S B Dikṣita)
- No. 42* — वार्षिकतन्त्र — This is the work on *jyotiṣ* by Viddana, son of Mallaya. It is not much earlier than Śaka 1400 (A. D. 1478) See *Hist of Ind Astronomy* by S. B. D. — p. 292).
- No 44* — राम वाजपेयी — One of his works is dated Śaka 1371 = A. D. 1449 (see p. 476, foot-note, of *Hist of Ind Astro.* by S B D).
- No. 49* — शारदातिलक — This *tantra* by Lakṣmana Deśika belongs to the 11th cent. A. D (see p. 276 of J. N. Farquhar's *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920)
- No 43* — व्यवहारतिलक — This work on judicial procedure has not yet come to light. Its author Bhavadevabhadda lived about A. D. 1100 (see p. 305 of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol I, B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930).

The references to *Keśavapaddhati* (about A. D. 1496) and *Rāmavājapeyī* (A. D. 1449) in the above list of datable references enable us to conclude that the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* is definitely later than c. A. D. 1550. The exact date of the work can be fixed if we are able to identify King Śyāmasāha, son of King Māna, by whose order *Guru Śaṅkara* composed the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* as stated by him in verses 4 and 5 at the beginning of the work.

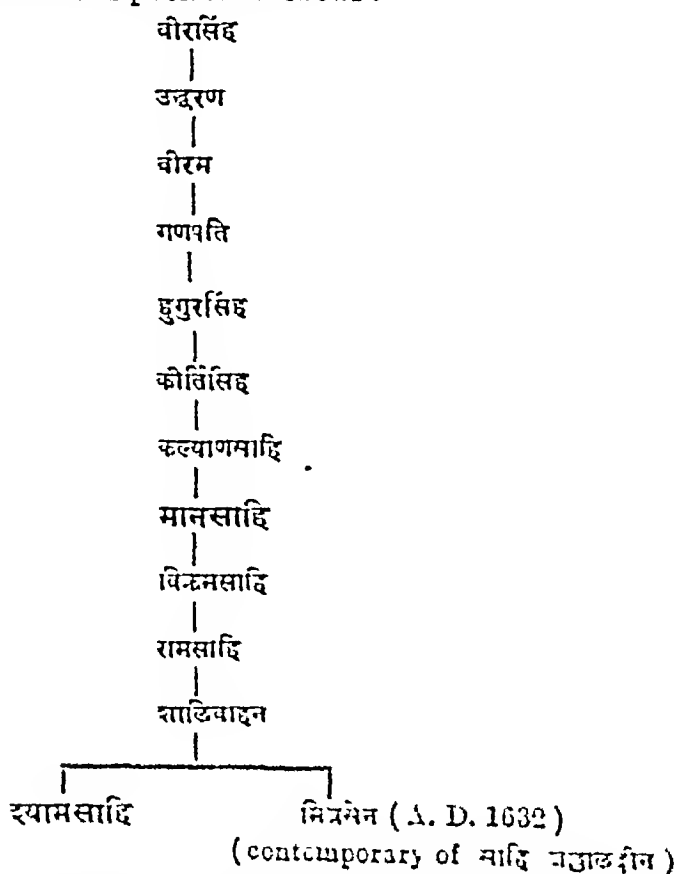
In the *Gazetteer of United Provinces*, (Vol II, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 280-281) we find some history of Garhwāl Dist. No genealogy of the Garhwāl Chiefs is recorded in this history. The names of some Chiefs recorded in this connection are as follows —

- Mahīpat Shāh* — (17th century) founded Śrīnagar. He was the first in his line to establish independence.
- Pīrthī Shāh* — In 1654 A. D. Shah Jahan sent an expedition against this Raja. He was driven from Śrīnagar by Jagat Chand (A. D. 1708-1720)
- Pradīp Shāh* — He ruled from A. D. 1717-1772
- Lalāt Shāh* — A. D. 1779.

Parduman Shāh—son of *Lalat Shāh*, perished with his troops in A. D. 1804 fighting against the Gurkhas.

The names *Syāmasāha* and his predecessor *Māna-narendra* mentioned in the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* are not found among the names of the Garhwal rulers mentioned above. Without a complete genealogy of the Garhwal line of Kings I am unable to identify *Syāmasāha* and *Māna-narendra*.

In the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* by D. R. Bhandarkar (Vols. XIV to XXIII of *Epi. Indica*) we find Inscription No. 988 (p. 133 of the List), which is dated *Vikrama Samvat 1633 = A. D. 1632*. This inscription is of the time of the Tomara *Mitrasena* found at Rohtas (Jhelum Dist. Panjab). The genealogy of the Tomara family of Gopācala (Gwalior) as given in the inscription is as follows .—



Curiously enough the names *श्यामसाहि* and *मानसाहि* (= *मान नरेन्द्र*) mentioned in the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* are found in the above genealogy. If these names

are identical with the names श्यामसाहि and मानसाहि in the Gwalior line of Kings the date of श्यामसाह would be A. D. 1632. In the *Vāstuśiromanī* श्यामसाह is called "माननरेन्द्र" born of मान King. Normally the epithet would mean "son of king मान" but if we take it to mean "born in the line of king मान" we can reconcile the genealogy of the *Vāstuśiromanī* with the statement of the inscription of A. D. 1632.

The above hypothesis about the possible identification of श्यामसाह and माननरेन्द्र needs more evidence in support of it before we accept it as final. Chronologically there would be no difficulty as the *Vāstuśiromanī* has been shown by me to be later than c. A. D. 1550. I hope students of the history of Garhwal State would throw some light on the names श्यामसाह and माननरेन्द्र mentioned in the *Vāstuśiromanī*.

24. The Contact of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and some Members of his Family with the Keladi Rulers of Ikkeri — Between c A D. 1592 and 1645 *

Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, ¹ the great grammarian of Banaras, lived between c. A. D. 1550 and 1630. He had a circle of pupils, some of whom composed works on grammar and other subjects. I have published papers on the works of some of these pupils like Varadarāja, ² Vanamālī, ³ Nilakanṭha Śūkla. ⁴ His influence on subsequent authors ⁵ is also very great. The family of Bhaṭṭoji was a learned one and appears to have enjoyed some patronage of the Keladi rulers of Ikkeri in the Shimoga District of the present Mysore State. I propose in this paper to record some evidence of the contact of Bhaṭṭoji and other members of his family with the Keladi rulers of Ikkeri between c. A. D. 1592 and 1645.

Dr. E. Hultzsch in his Report II on Sanskrit MSS in South India (Madras, 1896) describes a MS of the *Tattvakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita as follows. —

Page XII — “The *Tattvakaustubha* (No. 1243) was written by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita at the order of Venkaṭendra of Keladi. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 177, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keladi reigned A. D. 1604 to 1626.”

Page 122 of Appendix—MS No. 1243 begins as follows —

“ विधेय सच्चिदानन्दं वन्देऽहं योऽखिलं जगत् ।
चरीकृतिं नरीभक्तिं सज्जरीहृतिं लीलया ॥
केलदीविद्धेन्द्रस्य निदेशाद्दिदुषा मुदे ।
ध्वान्तोच्छित्तो पदुतरस्तन्यते तत्त्वद्यैस्तुभः ॥
कनिनापितभाष्याब्धे दग्धकौस्तुभ उद्धृतः ।
शास्त्रादपि भाष्याब्धे. [तस्य] कौस्तुभमुद्धरे ॥ ”

* *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. IV, No. I, Sept. 1955 pp. 33-20.

1. About the date of Bhaṭṭoji see my paper in my “*Studies in Indian Literary History*,” Vol. I, 1953, pp. 65-71. About Bhaṭṭoji's *Veṅkaṭa* see *Ibid.* pp. 75-78.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 216-22.

3. See *Major Library Bulletin*, Vol. X, Part 4, pp. 231-235, Dec. 1940.

4. See my *Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 463-474.

5. See my paper on the date of *Kon'ābhāṭṭa* in the *Major Library Bulletin* and on the *Library Catalogue of the Works of Nāyaka Dikṣita in Oriental Institute (Madras)*, Vol. I, No. 1.

Dr. B. A. Saletore in his remarks on the age of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Jan.-July 1937, identifies king "Venkaṭendra", by whose order Bhaṭṭoji composed the *Tattvakaustubha*, with Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I, who ruled from A. D. 1582 till A. D. 1629, and states that this King was noted for the patronage he gave to learned men.¹

There is an incomplete MS of the *Tattvakaustubha* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona (No. 319 of 1899-1915). At the end of the third Pariccheda of this work (folio 6) we find the following colophon —

“केलदी वेङ्कटेन्द्रोऽसौ अघोरेश² परायण ।

अचीकरदिम ग्रन्थ तत्त्वकौस्तुभसञ्चितम् ॥

पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञान् गुणगृह्यान् विपश्चितः ।

कौतुकात्मनस [कौतुकान्तर्मनस] प्रमोदयतु मङ्कति. ॥

इति श्रीमद्विशुद्धाद्वैतप्रतिष्ठापकेत्यादिविरुदावलीविराजमाने केलदिवेङ्कटाभूषेन कारिते विद्वन्मुकुटमाणिक्यलक्ष्मीधरभट्टसुनुभट्टोजिभट्टविरचिते तत्त्वकौस्तुभे तृतीय-परिच्छेदः ॥ ”

From the extracts from the *Tattvakaustubha* quoted above it is clear that Bhaṭṭoji had some contact with the court of King Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I, who ruled at Ikkeri and belonged to the Keladi line of rulers. The regnal period of this ruler is given differently by different scholars as follows :—

1. Hultzsch — “ A. D. 1604 to 1624. ”

2. B. A. Saletore — “ From A. D. 1582 till A. D. 1629. ”

In the pedigree of the Keladi rulers given in the *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 269, the regnal period of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I is given as “ A. D. 1592-1629. ” If this period is correct we can infer that the contact of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with this Keladi King must have taken place sometime between A. D. 1592 and 1629.

Bhaṭṭoji's brother Raṅgojibhaṭṭa was also a very learned man. He also appears to have enjoyed some patronage of the Keladi ruler Venka-

1. There is a MS of the *Tattvakaustubha* in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras (No 4588 described on p. 3417 of Vol IX of the *Descriptive Catalogue*, Madras, 1910) The three verses quoted by me from the MS of this work described by Hultzsch are also found in this MS. The reading in the first line of verse 2 in this MS is “ केरळीवेङ्कटेन्द्रस्य ” which is evidently a wrong reading for the correct-reading “ केलदीवेङ्कटेन्द्रस्य ”

2. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle who visited the Court of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I of Ikkeri in A. D. 1628 refers to अघोरेश्वर as follows on p. 272 of his *Travels*, Vol. II (1892) — “ Venkaṭappa Nāyaka had a great and particular devotion to the idol Agoreswar, who is here worshipped. ”

ṭappa Nāyaka I (A. D. 1592-1629) who was a great patron of learning. He had a son named Bhadrappa, who died during the life time of his father, leaving a son named Virabhadra. This prince assisted his grandfather Veṅkaṭappa in the administration of the province and in course of time succeeded him. Viśaiṣaivism appears to have been the faith of the Keladi Nāyakas. They were great devotees of the Advaita Maṭh of Śringeri. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I wrote a commentary in Sanskrit on *Śivagītā*. He patronised some scholars, like Tirumalabhaṭṭa, Raṅganātha Dikṣita, Aśvapandita, etc.¹ In view of this information recorded by Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao in his article on the *Nāyakas of Keladi* in the *Vijayanagara Comm. Volume* we must take the following verse in the *Vaiyākaraṇabhāṣya* of Raṅgojibhaṭṭa's son Koṇḍabhaṭṭa as genuine.—

“ विद्याधीश्वरदेवसत्तत्त्वमिति श्रीमाध्वमट्टारक

जित्वा केलदिवेङ्कटय्यसविधेऽप्यान्दोलिता प्रातवान् ।

यश्चक्रे मुनिवर्यसूत्रविश्रुति सिद्धान्तभट्ट तथा

माध्वाना तमहं गुल्फमगुरु रङ्गोजिभट्ट भवे ॥ १ ॥ ”

(Ecopp. 253 of *Vaiyākaraṇabhāṣya* in B. S. Series, 1915).

The first two lines in the above verse expressly state that Raṅgojibhaṭṭa, the brother of Bhaṭṭoji and father of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, defeated in debate at the court of King Keladi Veṅkaṭayya a Mādhva ascetic of the name “*caḍeru*” and got the honour of riding in a palanquin from Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I (A. D. 1595-1629).

From the evidence recorded so far it is clear that both the brothers viz. Bhaṭṭoji and Raṅgoji had an intimate contact with the court of the Keladi ruler Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I, though they normally resided at Banaras and carried on their learned pursuits there. This Keladi ruler must have entertained great respect for these brothers, who were followers of the Advaita doctrine, which appears to have been followed by Veṅkaṭappa also in view of his being the devotee of the Advaita Maṭh of Śringeri like other rulers in the Keladi line of rulers. At any rate Koṇḍabhaṭṭa mentions with pride and satisfaction the honour bestowed on his father by Veṅkaṭappa for defeating a Mādhva ascetic of the Dvaita School of Vedānta.

The patronage to Bhaṭṭoji's family given by Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I appears to have been continued by his grandson Virabhadra (A. D. 1629-1645), who succeeded him as will be seen from the following evidence:—

1. See pp. 253-254 of *Vaiyākaraṇabhāṣya* in B. S. Series.

Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, the nephew of Bhaṭṭoji composed a work called "Tarkapradīpa" by the order of King Virabhadra, son of Bhadrendra as stated by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa in this work. An incomplete MS of this work has been described by Hall in his *Bibliography* (1859), p. 79. In my article¹ on Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, I have tried to prove that this patron Virabhadra, son of Bhadrendra is identical with Virabhadra Nāyaka (A. D. 1629-1645), the son of Bhadrappa Nāyaka, who died during the life-time of his father Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I. It appears, therefore, that Virabhadra enjoyed the patronage of this Keladi ruler in the same way as that enjoyed by his father Raṅgoji and his uncle Bhattoji at the Court of Virabhadra's grandfather Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I (A. D. 1595-1629).

The following table shows at a glance the contact of Bhaṭṭoji's family with the Keladi rulers of Ikkeri between A. D. 1592 and 1645 —

Bhattoji Family	Keladi Royal Family	Regnal period
1 Bhaṭṭoji (c. A. D. 1550-1650)	Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I	A. D. 1592-1629
Brother		
2. Raṅgoji (— Do —)	— Do —	-- Do —
Son	Grandson	
3 Konda- (c. A. D. 1600-1660)	Virabhadra	A. D. 1629-1645
bhaṭṭa		

Raṅgoji was a devotee of god कालहस्तीश (Kālāhastīśa). He refers to this god in the last portion of his *Śivollāsa* as follows —

“अन्धे चास्मिन्तव विलसिते कालहस्तीश नित्य ।

कृत्वाभ्यासं भवति विजयी भक्तिभावैकनिष्ठ ॥”

There is a railway station called *Kālāhasti*, in the Chittoor District of the Madras State about 15 miles to the North of the Renigunta junction. Nearby is the *Kālāhasti* Zamindari. There is a village of the name *Kālāhasti*, near which is the temple of god Mahādeva, with five faces. This god is the celebrated *Kālāhastīśa* referred to by Raṅgoji. Rao Bhadur W. A. Bambardekar² thinks that the native place of Bhaṭṭoji's family must have been in the vicinity of the *Kālāhastīśa*, which appears to be the family deity of the family of Bhattoji Dikṣita.

In view of the South Indian origin of Bhattoji's family explained by my friend the late Rao Bhadur Bambardekar it is easy to understand the contact of this family with the Keladi rulers of Ikkeri in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State as explained in this paper.

1. See *Ādyar Library Bulletin*, 1954.

2. See p. 300 of *Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita-Jñānawake*, Bombay, 1939.

25. The Chronology of the Works of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa

(A Nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita)

Between A. D. 1610 and 1660 *

AUFRECHT records the following works of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, the son of Raṅgojibhaṭṭa and nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita

Catalogus Catalogorum, Part, I, p. 130.

- (1) तर्कप्रदीप written at the instance of King Virabhadra, Hall, p. 79, Ben. 165.
- (2) तर्करत्न Hall p. 78
- (3) न्यायपदार्थदीपिका
- (4) वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषण
- (5) वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषणसार
- (6) लघुवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषणसार Oppert — 5397
- (7) वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तदीपिका K. 88
- (8) स्फोटवाद Peters. I. 121

I am concerned in this paper mainly with the later limit for the date of the वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषण or वैयाकरणभूषण of which the वैयाकरणभूषणसार is an abridgment by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa himself. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute MS of वै. भूषणसार, (No. 226 of 1882-83) is described by Dr. Belvalkar on p. 259 of his *Catalogue of Grammar MSS*, Vol. II, Part I, 1938. The age of this MS as recorded by him is " *Samvat* 1716 or 1766. " If we accept " *Samvat* 1716 = A. D. 1660, the later limit for the date of this work would be A. D. 1660. If we accept " *Samvat* 1766 " = A. D. 1710, the later limit would be A. D. 1710.

A MS of वैयाकरणभूषण by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa No. 1610 in the Desai Collection of the Bombay University is described by Prof. H. D. Velankar on p. 270 of his *Catalogue* of this collection (1953). It is dated " *Samvat* 1762 " = A. D. 1706.

Eggeling describes a MS of the वैयाकरणभूषणसार in the India Office Library on p. 188 of his *Catalogue of I. O. MSS.*, Part II (1889) — MS No. 711. This MS is dated " *Samvat* 1706 " = A. D. 1650. If this date is correct we may fix A. D. 1650 as the later limit for the date of वैयाकरणभूषण and its abridgment वै. भू. सार. Possibly this MS was copied during the

* The *Major Library Edition*, Vol. XVIII, Part: 3-4 pp. 210-213.

life time of Kondabhatta. If a MS of the abridgment is dated A. D. 1650, the original work viz the वैयाकरणभूषण must have been composed by its author many years prior to A. D. 1650.

K. P. Trivedi in his edition of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* etc., describes a MS of the वैयाकरणभूषणसार on p. 13 of his critical notice of MSS (from Dehla's Bhandar, Ahmedabad), which is dated "Samvat 1729" = A. D. 1663. This date is in harmony with the date A. D. 1650 of another MS of this work described by Eggeling

Kondabhatta's न्यायपदार्थदीपिका or पदार्थदीपिका published in the *Benares Sanskrit Series* contains the following references by Kondabhatta to his other works viz. (1) वैयाकरणभूषण and तर्करत्न, as pointed out by K. P. Trivedi on p. 19 of his introduction

P. 92 "वैयाकरणमतं तु भूषणे अस्माभिः प्रपञ्चितम्"

(see also folios 44, 46, of MS No 774 of 1887-91 at B. O. R. Institute).

P. 51 "निरूपितमस्माभिस्तर्करत्ने"

In view of the data recorded above we can safely conclude that Kondabhatta composed the following works before A. D. 1650 —

(1) वैयाकरणभूषण

(2) वैयाकरणभूषणसार MSS of A. D. 1650, 1660

Kondabhatta's पदार्थदीपिका was written later than his वैयाकरणभूषण and तर्करत्न, since these two works are mentioned in it. Kondabhatta mentions the following authors and works in his *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* (appendix II to B. S. S. edition, pp. 730-731) —

अद्वैतसारोद्धार, अनुव्याख्यान, अप्ययदीक्षित, अमर, आख्यातवादशिरोमणि, आचार्य, उदयनाचार्य, कृष्णभ, कर्कटी, कलाप, कल्पतरु, कल्पतरुकार, काव्यप्रकाश, काव्यप्रकाशकार, कुसुमान्जलि, कैयट, खण्डनकार, गार्ग्य, गीता, गुरु, गौतम, जयतीर्थ, जैमिनि, तत्त्वविवेक, दुर्गा-सिंह, धातुवृत्ति, नयविवेकदीका, नयविवेकवरदराजीय, निरुक्त, निरुक्तकार, नृसिंहाश्रम, न्याय-तात्पर्यदीका, न्यायरक्षामणि, न्यायसुधा, पञ्चशिखाचार्य, पतञ्जलि, पतञ्जलियोग, पराशर, परिमल, पाणिनि, पार्थसारथिमिश्र, प्रभाकर, ब्रह्मोत्तरखण्ड, भट्ट, भट्टोजि, भर्तृहरि, भागवत, भामती, भाष्यकार, भीमसेन, मण्डनमिश्र, मध्व, मनोरमा, महाभारत, माधवाचार्य, माध्व, मिश्र, मुकुट, रत्नोजि, रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, लीलावत्युपाय, वरदराज, वसिष्ठ, वाक्यपदीय, वाचस्पति-मिश्र, विवरण, विवरणटिप्पणी, विवरणाचार्य, वेदान्तभूषणकृत्, व्यास, शङ्कराचार्य, शबर, शब्दकौस्तुभ, शाकटायन, शास्त्रदीपिका, श्रीधरस्वामिन्, संक्षेपशारीरकृत्, सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, सिद्धान्तलेश, सुधा, स्कन्दपुराण, हरदत्त, हरि, हेलाराज

Among the above references, the following are important —

- (1) अप्ययदीक्षित, the *guru* of भट्टोजिदीक्षित
- (2) नृसिंहाश्रम, the *guru* of भट्टोजिदीक्षित
- (3) भट्टोजि, the uncle (पितृव्य) of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa
- (4) मनोरमा, शब्दकौस्तुभ and सिद्धान्तकौमुदी are works of भट्टोजि on Grammar.
- (5) राज्ञोजि, the father of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa.

Hall on p. 79 of his *Bibliography* (Calcutta, 1859) describes a fragment of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's तर्कप्रदीप as follows :—

"This work was compiled at the instance of Rājā Virabhadra, son of Rājā Bhadrendra. Virabhadra is eulogized by the author for having given an impulse to the revival of the practice of sacrifice." "This work cites न्यायलीलावती and अद्वैतचिन्तामणि." The date of तर्कप्रदीप can be determined if we can identify the patron king Virabhadra, son of king Bhadrendra. Very probably this Virabhadra is identical with King Virabhadra, son of Bhadrappa Nāyaka, about whom the following information is recorded in the *Madhyayugina Caritra Kośa* by Chitrav Shastri, on p. 747 :—

"Virabhadra (A. D. 1629-1645), King of Bednur, son of Bhadrappa Nāyaka... He was originally king of Ikkeri. When Shahājī and Rana-dullākhān conquered Ikkeri¹ in A. D. 1637, he began to reside at Bednur. He died without issue." (see दिव्यभारतप्रस्तावना, pp 105-106)

If the above identification is accepted the date of तर्कप्रदीप could be fixed during the reign of वीरभद्र १६२९, A. D. 1629-1645. King Virabhadra, the patron of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, belonged to the line of Keladi Chiefs, whose capital was at Ikkeri first and at Bednur later. Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's father Raṅgoṇibhaṭṭa had some contact with the Keladi court as will be seen from the following stanza at the end of the पैवाकरणनूतन (p. 259 of B. S. S. edition).

“विद्याधीशवद्वेत्तज्ञश्चरति श्रीनाथ्यभट्टारक

विद्या केलदिवेत्तुह्यमविधेऽप्यान्दोलिका प्राप्ताम् ।

यश्चक्रे मुनिर्यस्यविवृति सिद्धान्तभट्टं तथा

नाथ्याना तमह गुरुमुपगुरु रदगोत्रिभट्टं भजे ॥”

Koṇḍabhaṭṭa clearly tells us in the first two lines of the above stanza how

1. About Ikkeri see p. 163 of Vol. V of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1905. Ikkeri is a village in the Channarayana District of Mysore State. From A.D. 1550 to 1637 it was the capital of Keladi Chiefs. The cradle of this dynasty was at Keladi in Shimoga District. Finally the dynasty fixed their abode at Bednur or Nagur. Bednur was captured by Haidar Ali in 1763 and the territory of the Keladi Chiefs was annexed to Mysore.

his father Raṅgojibhaṭṭa conquered in debate a Mādhva ascetic called *Vaderu* at the court of King Keḷadi Veṅkaṭayya.

Kavīndra Paramānanda's *S'ivabhārata* (ed. by S M Divekar, B. I. S Mandal, Poona, 1927), composed 'between A. D. 1661 and 1674,' contains the following references to Virabhadra, King of Bednur -

“ ततो विन्दुपुराधीश वीरभद्र महौजसम् । ”

(वशीकृत्य प्रतापेन etc.)

(Chap. IX verse 37)

King Shahāji conquered Virabhadra and pleased Raṇadullākhān -

“ रणदुल्लखानेन खलेनोपहृतं बलात् ।

भद्रासनं स्वमध्यास्त वीरभद्रोऽस्य सञ्चयात् ॥ ”

(Chap. XI, 6)

Virabhadra was helped by King Shahāji to reascend the throne from which he had been removed by Raṇadullākhān .-

“ पदे पदे शुभवता भवता विक्रीकृतः ।

व्यस्मरद्वीरभद्रोऽपि छत्रचामरसपद ॥ ”

(Chap. XVII, 7)

The verse refers to the conquest of Virabhadra's kingdom by Ali Shah of Bijapur.

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle in his *Travels* (A. D. 1623-1624) describes in detail his visit to Ikkeri, where Veṅkaṭappa Naik was ruling. In his account of the 21st November 1623 on p. 284 (ed. by Hakluyt Society, London, 1892) Pietro della Valle refers to “*Virabhadra Naieka*, a young boy, his son's son, whom he (Veṅkaṭappa Naik) designs for his successor.” I believe this “*Vira-badra Naieka*” is identical with Virabhadra Nāyak of Bednur (Bindupura), mentioned in the *S'ivabhārata*, whom I have identified with Virabhadra, the patron of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa.

The dates for Virabhadra recorded in the *Madhyayugina Caritra Kośa* are A. D. 1629-1645. If these dates are correct we have to presume that Veṅkaṭappa Nāyak or Keḷadi Veṅkaṭayya who ruled at Ikkeri in A. D. 1623-1624 may have continued his rule upto A. D. 1629. Very probably Raṅgojibhaṭṭa defeated in a debate the Mādhva ascetic ‘*Vaderu*’¹ at the court of this Veṅkaṭappa Nāyak of Ikkeri sometime prior to A. D. 1629.

1 Possibly this Mādhva ascetic named ‘*Vaderu*’ belonged to the Vaiṣṇava Maṭh of the Sārasvatā Brahmins at Partagall in the Cancon division of Goa. Nārāyaṇa Tirtha was the founder of this Maṭh. He was honoured with the title ‘*Vadera*’ by Siddanna Nāyaka of the Keḷadi family. The date of admission of Nārāyaṇa Tirtha into the Mādhva fold is the 8th March 1475 (see article by G. H. Khare on the *Archives of the Partagal Maṭh* in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1951, pp. 50-55.)

In the genealogical tree of the Nāyakas of Keladi, given on p. 269 of the *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume* (1938) by N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao, we find the dates of Veṅkaṭappa I, Bhadrappa and Virabhadra Nāyak represented as follows:—

VENKATAPPA NĀYAKA I (A. D. 1592-1629)

|

son

BHADRAPPA

|

son

VĪRABHADRAPPA NĀYAKA

(A. D. 1629-1645)

Rangoji Bhaṭṭa's contact with the court of Keladi Venkaṭappa I must have taken place sometime between A. D. 1595 and 1629, while Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's contact with Virabhadra must have taken place between A. D. 1629 and 1645.

26. The Relative Chronology of some Works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa Between c. A. D. 1670 and 1750 *

Dr. P. V Kane¹ has given us a good account of Nāgojibhaṭṭa of Banaras and his literary activity of an encyclopaedic character. According to him Nāgoji "flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century." "His literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A. D.". This chronology is fairly correct, but it needs to be corroborated by a study of the extant works of Nāgoji and their relative chronological order. For want of leisure I cannot undertake such a laborious study, but as a first step in this direction I record below the results of my study of some works of Nāgoji from the chronological point of view. It is hoped that these results will clarify at least to some extent the relative chronology of these works and also substantiate the views of Dr. Kane about the chronology for Nāgoji's life and literary career referred to above.

Before recording the results of my present study I note below the names of the works of Nāgoji so far known.—

(I) Aufrecht records the following works of Nāgoji (*Cata. Catalo.* Part I, pp. 283-284) —

- (1) अलंकारसुधा कुवलयानन्दटीका
- (2) अष्टाध्यायीपाठ
- (3) भाषाचन्दुशेखर
- (4) आशौचनिर्णय
- (5) दृष्टिकालनिर्णय
- (6) कात्यायनीतन्त्र
- (7) काव्यप्रदीप—उद्योत
- (8) रसगंगाधरटीका गुरुमर्मप्रकाशिका
- (9) चंडीटीका or देवीमाहात्म्यटीका
- (10) चंडीस्तोत्रप्रयोगविधि
- (11) तर्कभाषाटीका युक्तिमुक्तावली
- (12) तात्पर्यदीपिका gr. (on what ?)

* *Oriental Thought*, Vol. I pp 45-52.

1. Vide pp. 458-456 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Poona, 1930.

- (13) विद्वत्संग्रह
- (14) विधीदुशेखर
- (15) विधीदुशेखर
- (16) विस्मयलीलेतु (?)
- (17) धातुपाठवृत्ति
- (18) नेरणिगार्थ
- (19) पदार्थदीपिका ny.
- (20) परिभाषेन्दुशेखर
- (21) पतञ्जलसूत्रवृत्ति yoga
- (22) पतञ्जलसूत्रवृत्तिभाष्यच्छायाव्याख्या
- (23) प्रभाकरचन्द्र तत्त्वदीपिकाटीका gr.
- (24) प्रयोगसरणि tantra
- (25) प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर
- (26) प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखरसारसंग्रह
- (27) महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत
- (28) रसतरंगिणीटीका
- (29) रसमञ्जरीप्रकाश
- (30) रामायणटीका
- (31) लक्ष्मणरत्नमालिका dh.
- (32) विषमपदी शब्दकौस्तुभटीका
- (33) वेदसूक्तभाष्य
- (34) वैयाकरणकारिका
- (35) वैयाकरणनूपन (?)
- (36) वैयाकरणसिद्धांतमञ्जूषा
- (37) व्याससूत्रेन्दुशेखर
- (38) शब्दरत्न (?)
- (39) शब्दान्तवसागरसमुच्चय
- (40) सुपूर्तिद्वन्द्वसागरसमुच्चय
- (41) शब्देन्दुशेखर
- (42) मेरुकाररत्नमाला
- (43) उपमाध्ययसूत्रवृत्ति
- (44) सावित्र्यनजरी
- (45) सावित्र्यदीपिका
- (46) स्फोटपाद
- (47) नागार्जुनटीका

Dr. G. V. Devasthali's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bombay University MSS* (Books I and II) records the following works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa —

MS No. 40 — महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत

MS No. 62 — लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर

MS No. 63 — Do —

MS No. 64 — Do —

In this work Nāgoji refers to his “ बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर ” — (“ विस्तरस्तु बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखरे द्रष्टव्य ”).

MS No. 71 — परमलघुमञ्जूषा — MS is dated *Samvat 1902 = A. D. 1846*. This is the shortest of the three editions of Nāgoji's treatise on the philosophy of grammar viz. वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा.

MS No 89 — परिभाषेन्दुशेखर

MS No. 982 — आशौचनिर्णय — MS dated *Śaka 1728 = A. D. 1806*. Works and authors mentioned in this manual are — आकर, कालादृशं, जटमल्ल-विलास, निर्णयसिन्धु (A. D. 1612), पराशर, पारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, मदन-रत्न, मनु, माधव, मिताक्षरा, वाराहीवन्त्र, विज्ञानेश्वर, विष्णु, स्मृत्यर्थसार.

MS No. 983 — Do — MS dated “ *Samvat 1644*.”

MS No. 984 — Do — MS dated *Śaka 1734 = A. D. 1812* The date of MS No. 983 recorded by Dr. Devasthali is “ *Samvat 1644*.” If this is correct it can be interpreted as follows. —

(1) If the date 1644 belongs to *Vikrama Samvat* it is equal to A. D. 1588. This date for a MS of Nāgoji's work is impossible as Nāgoji lived definitely after c. A. D. 1640.

(2) If the date 1644 belongs to *Śaka* era it is equal to A. D. 1722. This date for the MS is possible as it does not conflict with the chronology for Nāgoji's works fixed by scholars.

MS No 1198 — सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप — MS dated *Śaka 1725 = A. D. 1803*.

Authorities referred to in this work are — अनन्तदेव, आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र, गोविन्दार्णव, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत नन्दपण्डित, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, ब्रह्मपुराण, मदन-पारिजात, मनु (or मनुस्मृति), मात्स्य, माधव (and माधवानुयायिन), मार्कण्डेयपुराण, मीमांसावार्तिक, याज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, वासुदेव (भट्ट वासुदेव), विज्ञानेश्वर, व्यास, शंकरभट्ट, शङ्ख, शाकटायन, सप्रहोक्ति, सत्याषाढ, सुमन्तु, स्मृतिपादस्थवार्तिक, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि

Among the above references the following three are important for the chronology of Nāgojibhaṭṭa and his works —

(1) शंकरभट्ट — Between A. D. 1540 and 1600. He was the nephew of कमलाकरभट्ट author of निर्णयसिन्धु (A. D. 1612) and composed द्वैतनिर्णय and

other works on dharmaśāstra (See p. 747 of Vol. I of *Hist. of Dharma.* by P. V Kane¹).

(2) अनाददेव—the author of *सुग्रीवकौस्तुभ* and other works. He flourished “between 1645 and 1675 A. D.” (See p. 452 of *History of Dharma-śāstra*, Vol. I by P. V. Kane).

(3) नंदपदित—the celebrated writer on dharmaśāstra. He flourished “between 1595 and 1630 A. D.” (See p. 432 of *Hist. of Dharma*. Vol. I by P. V. Kane).

MS No. 1358 — देवीमाहात्म्य व्याख्यान, MS dated Śaka 1762 = A. D. 1840.

MS No. 1359 — Do —

The Descriptive Catalogue of MSS (Vol. VI – Vyākaraṇa MSS) in the Asiatic Society of Bengal records the following MSS of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's works –

MS No. 4222 — ननुभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत

MS No 4223 — Do—MS dated Samvat 1794 = A. D. 1738.

MS No. 4268 — सिद्धान्तमंजूषा MS dated Samvat 1828 = A. D. 1772.

MS No. 4284 — लघुशब्ददेन्दुशेखर — (See also other MSS of this work, Nos. 4285 to 4290).

MS No. 4331 — लघुवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषा — (Other MSS Nos. 4332, 4333, 4434).

MS No. 4434 is dated Śaka 1745 = A. D. 1823.

MS No. 4343 परिभाषेन्दुशेखर

MS No. 4344 — Do — MS dated Samvat 1911 = A. D. 1855. -

MS No. 4345 — परिभाषेन्दुशेखरकाशिका by Vaidyanātha Pāyagūṇḍa (MS dated Samvat 1916 = A.D 1860)

Nāgojibhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called उद्योत on the कान्यप्रदीप of Govinda. The B. O. R. Institute has a MS of this commentary, No. 149 of 1902-07. References to works and authors found in this MS are. —

रामायण, दीपिका, उद्गटालकारकृत्, परमानन्दचक्रवर्ति, नाटमीनामकाः, चण्डिदास, मण्डनमिश्राः.

Nāgoji refers in this work to his वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषा as follows —

Folio 7 — “ इति वैयाकरणसंते मंजूषायां प्रतिपादितमस्मानिः ”

Folio 14 — “ इति स्पष्टं वस्मःकृतवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषिकायाम् ”

Folio 15 — “ पाठजलमतं वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषायामस्मानिख्यपादितम् ”

1. There is another चक्रमंड, (and of नीलचन्द्रमंड, and of शरमंड,) author of धर्मपिराह and other works. He flourished between 1600 and 1600 A. D. (See p. 747 of *Hist. of Dh.* Vol. I).

It is clear from these three references that Nāgojibhaṭṭa's उद्योत on the काव्यप्रदीप of Govinda was composed after the composition of his वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा.

There is a MS of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's *Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta-Maṇḍīṭā* (No. 1295) in the library of Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, copied in Śaka 1630 = A. D. 1708. My friend Śrī S. L. Katre, the Curator of the Institute has kindly supplied to me the following extract from the colophon of this MS —

“वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा या कृता मया ।

तया श्रीभगवान्सांख्यः शिवो मे प्रीयतामिति ॥

श्री शाके १६३० चैत्र सुदि १४ बुधे शुभम् कूर्माचलदेशे अलमोडा श्री ज्ञानिचन्द्रराज्यस्थाने वीरेश्वरपण्डितगृहनिक्टे लिखितमिदं दशाग्रं (-scored ?) रत्नाकरत्रिपाठिना ॥ शुभम् ॥ ”

One Ratnākara Tripāṭhī copied this MS at Almodā (Almora) in the Kūrmācala (Kumaon) territory at a place near the house of Vīreśvara Paṇḍita on *Budhavāra*, 14th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Caitra* of Śaka 1630. This date corresponds to *Wednesday, 24th March 1708* according to *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI by Pillai, page 218. The date of this work must, therefore, be *earlier than A. D 1708*.

The B O. R. Institute has a MS of the वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा (No. 33 of 1907-1915) dated Śaka 1699 = 1777 A. D. I have gone through this MS cursorily. Works and authors mentioned in this treatise are —

न्यायभाष्यकृता, कैयट, चरके पतञ्जलि, नैयायिका, पातञ्जलभाष्य, पाणिनि, हरिणा, हेलाराजः, हेलाराजीये, कणादिसूत्र, भारतं, हरिवंश, जैमिनिसूत्र, श्रीहर्षकृतखंडने, आश्वलायन, आश्वलायनश्रौतकारिका, बौधायनसूत्र, शांखायन, पुंजराज, गौतमः, न्यायवार्तिककार, भारद्वाजः, साख्यसूत्रे, वाचस्पतिमिश्रा परमार्थसारे शेषनागेन, भागवते, कौर्मै, बौद्धमत, सनत्सुजातीयभाष्ये भगवत्पादैः, व्याससूत्रे, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, नैयायिकनव्योक्त, निरुक्तभाष्ये, काव्यप्रकाशे, पातञ्जलसूत्र, भट्टकारिकायां, चरके, गौतमीये, समर्थसूत्रभाष्ये, निरुक्ते, खडनकृता, वृद्धाः, अलकारिकैः, तात्रिका, नव्यमीमांसका, गुरुमतं (fol. 73), भट्टै, मिताक्षरा, याज्ञवल्क्य, शबरस्वामी, अर्वाचीननैयायिकमीमांसकानां, पराशरोपपुराणात् वात्स्यायन, देवलः, रुद्रदत्तविद्यारण्याभ्याम्, गीतावचन, मनुना, पचशिखाचार्यै, मार्कण्डेयपुराण, पराशरस्मृतिव्याख्याया माधवाचार्य, मणिकृता, “ इति भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योतादौ विस्तरः ” (folio 140), हरिस्वामि, भट्टपादै, वेदभाष्य, गौतमस्मृते, वायू (पुराण), देवीपुराण, सूतसहिता, राणककृत, दीधितिकार, हरिदीक्षित (the guru of Nāgojibhaṭṭa in फणिभाष्य), रामराम (guru of N. in न्यायतत्र), श्रृंगवेरपुराधीशराम (the patron of N.) — Colophon on fol. 221 - “ इतिश्रीमदुपाध्यायोपनामकसतीगर्भजशिवभट्टसुत नागेशकृतो वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषाख्यः स्फोटवादः ॥ ”

In the above list of references, the reference by Nāgojibhaṭṭa to his own “ भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत ” on folio 140 of the MS is important. This work is

no other than the महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत of this author. It is, therefore, clear that Nāgojibhaṭṭa's महाभाष्यप्रदीप - उद्योत was composed earlier than his पैयाकरणनिदान्तमञ्जूषा of which a MS dated A. D. 1708 is available in the library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

I gratefully record below references in Nāgojibhaṭṭa's works to his other works supplied by my friend Prof. K. V. Abhyankar —

(1) In लघुमञ्जूषा (Benares Edition) Nāgoji mentions his शब्देन्दुशेखर.—
Page 1033—“ एतच्च निरूपितं कर्तृमणोरिति सूत्रे शब्देन्दुशेखरे ”

Page 1088—“ इति अन्यत्र प्रपञ्चितम् ” (according to Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde, the pupil of Nāgoji अन्यत्र=शब्देन्दुशेखरे).

(2) In महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत (Benares Edition) Nāgoji mentions मञ्जूषा on the following pages.—

Page 8—“ निरूपितं चैतत् मञ्जूषायाम् ” (see also pp. 14, 54, and the following sūtras.—1, 2, 58, I, 3, 72, I, 4, 54).

(3) In लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर (Benares Edition) Nāgoji mentions his (महा) भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत on the following pages.—

Page 437—“ एतच्च भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योते निरूपितम् ” (see also pages 527 and 572).

From the gloss of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde on the लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर we find that there are many indirect references in this work to Nāgoji's other works indicated by अन्यत्र as found on the following pages of the Benares Edition —

[1] अन्यत्र=मञ्जूषा (pages 136, 140, 137, 144

[2] अन्यत्र=उद्योत, and शब्दरत्न of हरिदीक्षित (pp 212, 268)

[3] अन्यत्र=उद्योत, (pp. 54, 141, 262)

[4] अन्यत्र=शब्दरत्न (pp. 180, 203, 270)

[5] अन्यत्र=गुरुशेखर, उद्योत (p. 62)

(4) In his commentary on the *Rasagangādhara* of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya Nāgoji mentions his मञ्जूषा (see p. 360 of Nirṇaya Sagara Press Edition of the *Rasagangādhara*).

(5) In परिभाषेन्दुशेखर (ed. by Kielhorn, B. S. Series) Nāgoji mentions his other works as follows.—

(i) शब्देन्दुशेखर (pp. 21, 31 64, 104, 114)

(ii) भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत (pp. 43, 72)

(iii) मञ्जूषा (pp. 79, 109)

From the commentary of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde on the *Paribhāṣaṇendusekhara* we get the following indirect references to his works made by Nāgoji—

(1) अन्यत्र = उद्योत (pp 7, 22, 29, 31, 38, 56, 70, 74, 84 89, 96, 97, 98, 103, 104, 105, 111, 112, 115)

(2) अन्यत्र = मजूषा (p. 8)

(3) अन्यत्र = शब्देन्दुशेखर (pp. 37, 107).

(4) अन्यत्र = शेखर (pp 61, 75, 78, 90, 96, 99, 110).

From the data recorded so far we can tentatively draw the following conclusions —

(1) In his आशौचनिर्णय Nāgoji (=N) mentions निर्णयसिंधु (A. D 1612). In his सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप N mentions शकरभट्ट (between A. D 1540 and 1600), अनंतदेव (between A. D. 1645-1675) and नदपट्टित (between A. D. 1595 and 1630). N is, therefore, later than c A. D. 1670.

(2) The Ujjain MS of N's वैयाकरणसिद्धांतमजूषा is dated A. D. 1708.

(3) The A. S. B. (Calcutta) MS No 4223, of N's voluminous work महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत is dated A. D. 1738

(4) In the वै. सि. मजूषा N mentions his महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत, which in its turn mentions वै. सि. मजूषा This cross-reference proves that both these works were being composed simultaneously some time earlier than A. D. 1708, which is the date of the Ujjain MS of वै. सि. मजूषा.

(5) These voluminous works viz the वै. सि. मजूषा and महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत are the products of N's mature intellect and scholarship Presuming that N was about 30 years old at the time of their composition sometime before A. D 1708, the date of a copy of one of these works, we may easily infer that N was born say between A. D 1670 and 1680. This inference is in harmony with his reference to Anantadeva (A. D 1645-1675).

(6) Very probably N composed his वै. सि. मजूषा and महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत between c A. D 1700 and 1708.

(7) N composed his commentary on the रसमंजरी of Bhānudatta called the रसमंजरीप्रकाश sometime before A. D. 1712, which is the date of a MS of this work in the India Office Library (See p. 355 of *India Office Catalogue*, Vol. III) as pointed out by S. K. De in *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I (1923).

(8) N composed his commentary on the *Rasagaṅgādhara* after his composition of the वै. सि. मजूषा as he mentions वै. सि. मजूषा in this commentary. Very probably this commentary was composed by N sometime after A. D. 1700.

(9) N composed his काव्यप्रदीप-उद्योत, which mentions वै. सि. मजूषा, also after A. D. 1700.

(10) N composed his आशौचनिर्णय sometime before A. D. 1722, which is possibly the date of a MS of this work (No. 933) in the Bombay University collection of MSS.

(11) N composed his लघुमंजूषा sometime after his पै. सि. मंजूषा (between A. D. 1700 and 1708).

(12) N composed his लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर after his बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखर (= बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखर) as he refers to शन्देन्दुशेखर in the लघुमंजूषा

(13) N composed his लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर after his बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखर.

(14) N mentions महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत (Between A. D. 1700 and 1708) in his लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर Evidently the लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर is later than A. D. 1700.

(15) N composed his परिभाषेन्दुशेखर after his पै. सि. मंजूषा and महाभाष्य-प्रदीप-उद्योत (both composed between c. A. D. 1700 and 1708) and also after बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखर as these works are mentioned by him in the परिभाषेन्दुशेखर.

(16) N composed his लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर some time before A. D. 1721 as we have the following dated MS of this work in the library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.—

Accession No. 846—लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर, MS dated Samvat 1777 (= A. D. 1721). (see pp. 714-715 of Alphabetical List, Vol. I, 1942).

Accession No. 11703—लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर with comm. 'चिदस्त्रिमाळा' by Nāgoj's pupil वैद्यनाथ पायगुडे—MS dated Samvat 1780 (= A. D. 1724) (see pp. 716-717 of Alphabetical List, Vol. I, 1942).

Evidently N composed his बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखर earlier than c. A. D. 1715 as the लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर is an abridgment of the बृहच्छन्देन्दुशेखर. As the लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर mentions पै. सि. मंजूषा (between A. D. 1700 and 1708) it is later than c. A. D. 1700 and earlier than A. D. 1721, the date of the Baroda MS of this work.

(17) N composed his काव्यप्रदीप-उद्योत before A. D. 1751, the date of MS No. 1293 of this work in the Desai collection of MSS of the Bombay University (see p. 236 of H. D. Velankar's *Cata.* 1953) As this work mentions पै. सि. मंजूषा (between A. D. 1700 and 1708) it was composed before A. D. 1751 but later than c. A. D. 1700.

(18) N composed his नव्यजातक with commentary before A. D. 1733, the date of MS No. 1402 of this work in the Desai collection of the Bombay University (see p. 253 of Velankar's *Cata.* 1953.)

(19) Besides the Ujjain MS of पै. सि. मंजूषा dated A. D. 1708 there is another MS of it dated A. D. 1737 in the Desai Collection of the Bombay University (No. 1625—see p. 299 of Velankar's Catalogue, 1953).

27. Date of Vāsudeva's Commentary on the Karpūramañjarī of Rājas'ekhara (Between A. D. 1450 and 1700) *

The following commentaries on Rājas'ekhara's Karpūramañjarī have been recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* —
CC I, p. 88 — (1) by Kāmarāja (Premarāja)

(2) by Kṛṣṇasūnu

(3) by Dharmadāsa

(4) Ratnamañjarī by Pītāmbara

(5) *Karpūramañjarīprakāśa* by Vāsudeva K 70; Peters. 3. 393.

(6) *Karpūramañjarīchāyā*

CC II, p. 15 — *Karpūramañjarīprakāśa* by Vāsudeva L. 3288, Peters 4.25, Stein 77 (inc)

I am concerned in this paper with Vāsudeva's commentary which is available in a published form ¹ Its editor has not determined the date of the commentator Vāsudeva. I propose in this paper to put some limits to his date.

Vāsudeva was the son of Prabhākara and Gomatī as stated in the following stanza at the beginning of his commentary —

“ तात प्रभाकर नत्वा मातर गोमतीमपि । कर्पूरमञ्जरीटीका वासुदेवेन तन्यते ॥ ”

In all the colophons found in the commentary the name of the author, the name of his father and the name of the commentary viz. कर्पूरमञ्जरीप्रकाश are recorded as follows —

“ इति श्री ... प्रभाकरभट्टात्मजवासुदेवविरचिते कर्पूरमञ्जरीप्रकाशे ”

According to Aufrecht (CC I, p. 567) वासुदेव composed a work on मीमांसा called the पयोप्रद-समर्थन-प्रकार dealing with the substitution of milk for intoxicating spirits in the वाजपेय ceremony (See Hall's *Bibliography*, p 292). This work cites त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, सौत्रामणि and the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर (c. A. D 1070-1100). The MS “ Peters 4.25 ” mentioned by Aufrecht is identical with MS No 662 of 1886-92 (कर्पूरमञ्जरी with प्रकाश by वासुदेव) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O R Institute, Poona. Another MS of Vāsudeva's प्रकाश mentioned by Aufrecht is “ Peters 3.393 ” which is

* *Oriental Thought*, Vol. I, No 1, pp. 59-68.

1 Published by Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1949, edited by N. R. Acharya.

identical with MS No 278 of 1831 86 in the Govt. MSS Library. Both these MSS bear no dates. They appear to be at least 150 years old. The MS "K. 70" of प्रकाश recorded by Kielhorn in his *List of C. P. MSS*, Nagpur, 1874, p. 70, is mentioned by Kielhorn to be about 125 years old. If this statement is correct the MS appears to have been copied about A. D. 1750 which is, therefore, the later limit to the date of Vāsudeva. The earlier limit to the date of Vāsudeva may now be fixed on the basis of references in the commentary. Works and authors mentioned by Vāsudeva in his कर्पूरमञ्जरीप्रकाश (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1919) are as follows. —

- (1) सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण — p. 1, 2, 10, 18
- (2) दण्डिना — p. 2, 10, 14 1b, 16, 17, 22 28, 30
- (3) काव्यप्रकाश — p. 2, 4, 10, 11, 14, 36, 38, 42, etc.
- (4) भरवे — p. 2, 6, 7, 8, 35
- (5) वामनेन — p. 2
- (6) रसकलिकायाम् — p. 5, 34, 37
- (7) नाट्यप्रदीपे — p. 6
- (8) दशरूपके — p. 6, 13, 35, 63
- (9) भावप्रकाशे — p. 6, 8
- (10) संगीतसर्वस्वे — p. 6
- (11) मातृगुप्ताचार्ये — p. 7
- (12) नाट्यलोचने — p. 7
- (13) सुधाकरे — p. 10, 34
- (14) प्राकृतसंजीविन्याम् — p. 10
- (15) शृंगारतिलके — p. 13, 14, 46
- (16) संगीतरत्नाकरे — p. 35,
- (17) साहित्यदर्पणे — p. 44, 46
- (18) मम्मटेन — p. 44
- (19) विश्व. — p. 45—A. D. 1111
- (20) वृद्धे. — p. 52
- (21) कालिदासेन — p. 59
- (22) काव्यादर्शे दण्डिना — p. 66, 69, 81
- (23) त्रिकाण्डो — p. 70

The dates of some of the works and authors mentioned by Vāsudeva are as follows —

No. 17 — साहित्यदर्पण — Between A. D. 1000 and 1350 (See p. 236 of *Sanskrit Poetics Vol. I*, 1923, by S. K. De). Between A. D. 1300 and 1360 (See p. 121 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1951).

No. 9 — भावप्रकाश — This is obviously the भावप्रकाश by Śāradātanaya— between A. D. 1100 and 1300 (See p. 242 of G. K. De's *Poetics*, Vol. I). between 1175 and 1250 A. D. (See p 405 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*).

No. 7 — नाट्यप्रदीप — A work of this name was composed by सुंदरमिश्र औजागरी in A. D. 1613 (See p 402 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*).

No. 13 — सुधाकर — Very probably this work is identical with the रसार्णवसुधाकर of शिङ्गभूपाल— A. D 1340-1360 according to A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (See p. 411 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*)

No. 16 — संगीतरत्नाकर — Śārṅgdeva, the author of this work on music, was patronised by the Yādava king Siṅghna (A. D 1210-1247). (See p 419 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1951)

As वासुदेव mentions and quotes from the साहित्यदर्पण (c. A. D. 1300 — 1380) we may fix about A. D 1450 as the earlier terminus to the date of his commentary on the कर्पूरमञ्जरी. If the work नाट्यप्रदीप quoted by him is identical with the नाट्यप्रदीप composed in A. D. 1613 by Sundaramiśra Aujāgarī this earlier limit can be pushed up to about A. D. 1650, the later limit being about A. D 1750 fixed by me already on the strength of the age of a MS. of Vāsudeva's Prakāśa recorded by Kielhorn.

Vāsudeva records the following vernacular equivalents in his commentary —

Page 18 — “ महाराष्ट्रभाषायाम् ‘ निष्पट ’ इति प्रसिद्धम् ”

Page 27 — “ टप्परो वंशपात्रम् । ‘ टोपला ’ इति भाषायाम् । ”

Perhaps Vāsudeva hailed from Mahārāstra and knew the Marathi language.

In the light of evidence recorded above we can arrive at the following conclusions regarding Vāsudeva's date —

(1) The date of Vāsudeva definitely lies between A. D 1450 and 1750.

(2) If the the work Nāṭyapradīpa mentioned by Vāsudeva is identical with the Nāṭyapradīpa composed by Sundaramiśra in A. D. 1613, the date of Vāsudeva can be fixed between A. D. 1650 and 1750.

28. Some Purāṇic Extracts quoted by Aparārka (c. A. D. 1125) and their bearing on the History of Indian Paleography and Education *

In my paper¹ on the *History of Ink-manufacture in India*, I have recorded some recipes which appear to be later than A. D. 1200. The earliest among these recipes is that from a work on alchemy called the *Rasaratnākara* of Nityanātha Siddha assigned by scholars to about the 13th century. Since this paper was published I happened to read some portions of the commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* by Aparārka, who is assigned by M. M. Prof P. V. Kane to A. D. 1125.

In the *dānaprakaraṇa* of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (chapter I, prakaraṇa 8,) Yājñavalkya extols दान or विद्यादान in verse 212. In commenting upon this verse Aparārka quotes several authorities² such as यम, बृहस्पति, भविष्योत्तर, मत्स्यपुराण, नन्दिपुराण, etc. The long extracts from the three Purāṇas pertaining to विद्यादान are important as they contain some literary and paleographical material. These extracts deal with the following topics —

- (1) भविष्योत्तर — Worship of पुस्तक (manuscript), description of मपी (ink), मपिभाजक (ink-pot), formula of ink, qualifications of a लेखक (writer of MSS), instructions regarding the writing of MSS, depositing MSS in a मठ or monastery, the merit acquired by donating MSS of Purāṇas, Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, endowment for the maintenance of a preceptor (उपाध्यायवृत्ति-दान); endowment for providing food, raiment etc. to students and making provision for students pursuing a study of technical sciences and arts (शस्त्रशास्त्रवृत्तान्तिव्य), endowment for the constant reading of religious manuscripts in the temples of gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya.
- (2) मत्स्यपुराण :— Donating of the MSS of the following Purāṇas according to specific *vidhis* :— (a) ग्रंथ 10000, मत्स्यपुराण, (b) ग्रंथ 55000, वामनपुराण, (c) ग्रंथ 23000, विष्णुपुराण, (d) ग्रंथ 24000, वायुपुराण,

* *Panna Chronicle* Vol. XIII, Nos. 3 and 4 pp. 9-14.

1 *Vide Prak. p. 329*, Vol. III (1945), pp. 1-17.

2 *Vide* pp. 52-103 of Vol. I of *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (1903)
(*Amarendra Chandra Sena, Series, Poona, 1903*)

(e) ग्रंथ 18000, भागवतपुराण, (f) ग्रंथ 25000, नारदपुराण, (g) ग्रंथ 9000, मार्कण्डेय, (h) ग्रंथ 16000 आग्नेयपुराण, (i) ग्रंथ 14500, भविष्यपुराण, (j) ग्रंथ 18000, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, (k) ग्रंथ 11000, लिङ्गपुराण, (l) ग्रंथ 24000, वाराहपुराण, (m) ग्रंथ 81100, स्कन्दपुराण, (n) ग्रंथ 10000, वामनपुराण, (o) ग्रंथ 17000, कूर्मपुराण (p) ग्रंथ 13000, मत्स्यपुराण, (q) ग्रंथ 18000, गरुडपुराण, (r) ग्रंथ 12200, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ³

- (3) नन्दिपुराण -- Importance of शास्त्रदान, 14 *Vidyās Vedas, Vedāṅgas, dharmasūtra, purāṇa, mīmāṃsā, tarka, āyurveda, Sāmaveda, Ātmaśāstrīya, kalāśāstrīya, śilpaśāstrīya, śāstrīyaśāstrīya* ⁴ etc. दान of श्लोक, प्रहेलिका, गायत्रि सुभाषित etc. may be regarded as विद्यादान—worship of a qualified *guru*—पुस्तकदान to be carried out in a शिव-मंदिर—worship of वाचक and श्रावक—qualifications of a वाचक. —

“ वाचको ब्राह्मणः प्राज्ञ श्रुतशास्त्रो महात्मना ॥

अभ्यस्ताक्षरविन्यस्तो वृत्तशास्त्रविशारदः ॥

शब्दार्थविस्मयगलभश्च विनीतो मेघयान्वितः ॥

गीतज्ञो वाक्यविच्छाद्यस्वरोऽनाविलभाषकः ॥ ”

— Qualifications of a *guru* —

“ अध्यायसर्गविच्छेदविभक्तार्थप्रयोजकः ।

संस्कारैः संस्कृतां विद्यां प्राकृतैः प्राकृतामपि ॥

आलापमात्रैर्व्याख्यानैर्यश्च शिष्यान्प्रबोधयेत् ।

देशाभिधानविन्यासैर्बोधयेच्चापि यो *guru* ॥

स *guru* स पिता माता स तु चिन्तामणिः स्मृतः । ”

The वाचक should read out Mss in the following manner —

“ शनैर्विबोध्य वै वाच्यमध्यात्मादि च यद्भवेत् ॥

क्रुद्धोक्तिं युद्धसक्षोभं धारावर्तेन वाचयेत् ॥

सरागलकितैर्वीक्ष्यैर्वाचयेद्वृद्धसंगमे ।

3 The extent of each *Purāṇa* in *granthas* indicated here as part of Aparārka's commentary would be an important testimony bearing on the extent of each of the 18 *Purāṇas* about A. D. 1100, provided these *grantha* figures are found in the earliest dated Mss of Aparārka's commentary and corroborated by other reliable evidence.

4 सस्यविद्या means possibly the science of agriculture. It is also called सस्यवेद in the following lines of the नन्दिपुराणः —

“ सस्यवेदप्रदानेन सपत्न्या यस्य शालयः ।

किं नाम न कृतं तत्र पुण्यं भवति शाश्वतम् ॥ ” (p. 397)

Evidently there were some treatises on सस्यविद्या, which are now lost. The only treatise we know at present is कृषिपराशर

नानावृत्तानुरूपेण लाङ्घित्येन च वाचयेत् ॥

सर्गाध्यायसमाप्ते च कथापर्यन्त एव वा ।

प्रशस्तपदमयोगैकुर्यादिति विरामणम् ॥

समाप्ते वाचनेऽभीष्टं स्तूयेद्देव विचक्षणः । ”

The effect of listening to the शास्त्रs is described as following —

“ समप्रशस्तश्रवणेन पुंसां ब्रह्माप्रधान भवतीह चेतः

रागं च शास्त्रात्मकमभ्युपैति दोषाश्च नाश निश्चिन्नेन यान्ति ॥ ”

The merit of persenting manuscripts on different शास्त्रs to learned Brahmins is very great. Equally great is the merit of presenting writing materials like पत्र (leaves), मयीपात्र (ink-pot), लेखनी (pen) and सपुट (box for keeping writing materials) etc —

“ येऽपि पत्रमयीपात्रलेखनीसपुटादिभ्यः ।

दद्युः शास्त्राभियुक्ताय तेऽपि विद्याप्रदायिन ॥

यान्ति लोकांश्चुभान्मर्त्याः पुण्यश्लोका महाधियः ॥

इति विद्याप्रदानस्य महाभाग्य प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ”

The foregoing brief analysis of the Purāṇic extracts quoted by Aparārka gives us a good idea of the importance attached to विद्यादान and its beneficial effects on the educational activities of ancient times prior to A. D. 1100. In the mechanism of education, so graphically described in these extracts every part had its own importance as the following series of these parts will show —

लेखक पुस्तक — वाचक — गुरु — श्रावक

The idea of acquiring merit (punya) by विद्यादान prompted the rich and pious public of the day to contribute its mite for keeping this mechanism well oiled and in smooth working order.

The remarks in the Purāṇic extracts about लेखक (scribe) with his writing accessories have a paleographic interest, while those about वाचक (reader), गुरु (preceptor) and श्रावक (disciple) possess an educational interest.

The following lines in the extracts from the *Bhavishyottarapurāṇa* refer to a formula for ink which appears to have been current before A. D. 1100.—

“ सोऽग्नीं लेखनी कार्यां रौप्यं च सपिनाजनम् ।

दीपज्वालासमुद्भूतकजलेन मयी भवेत् ॥

ओदुम्बरामयपाणिपट्टद्वयोलरमान्विता । ”

The pen should be made of gold, the ink-pot should be made of silver. The ink should be prepared from lamp black mixed up with शोऽग्नी

(juice of aloes or gum myrrh) and pounded with hand in a tray or vessel (कमल) of *Audumbara* wood i. e. wood of the *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*), which is one of the seven holy trees in India. I cannot say what special purpose was served by the *udumbara* wood and its contact with the mixture of कज्जल and चोल. In some of the formulas of ink recorded by me the use of cooper vessels for mixing up the ink-ingredients is prescribed, though in these formulae कज्जल and चोल remain as main ingredients. In the above formulae from the *Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa* we have the simplest process of making ink, which appears to have been in use more than a thousand year ago in India in writing manuscripts on palm leaves, as paper had not then made its appearance in India. The writing outfit then consisted of a box with ink, ink-stand and pens, as also blank leaves (पत्रमणीपात्रलेखनीसपुटादिकम्) as expressly stated in the *Nandipurāṇa* extract quoted by Aparārka. This outfit was presented to the learned men of the day (द्युः शास्त्राभियुक्ताय) with a view to acquiring merit (पुण्य). Even today we present to friends sets of writing materials like fountain pens, ink stands etc. but it is doubtful whether these accessories have stimulated or facilitated any literary effort in them. They remain on the tables of our friends only for display, at times with a dry ink pot and a broken holder or nib or a leaking fountain pen.

As regards the *lamp black* used for ink-manufacture in India from ancient times, I have to state that some product from soot or lamp black was exported to Greece and Rome for the manufacture of black colour used by painters in these countries as stated by Dr. Albert Neuberger.⁵

⁵ Vide pp 194-195 of *Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* (Eng Translation by H. L. Brose, Methuen and Co (1930))—Speaking of Inorganic Dyes and Painter's Colours Dr. Neuberger observes —

“For making *black*, soot was the chief source. It was produced as nowadays in special works. Pitch, resin, chips from the pine, beeswax, dried remains of the grape and other substances, were burned in chambers, whose walls were as smooth as possible and in many cases made of polished marble. The soot which deposited itself was scratched off. Further *bone black* was also in use, it is supposed to have been discovered by the most celebrated painter in Greece namely, Apelles (about 325 B. C.) who produced it by charring ivory. *Bone black* was extraordinarily dear and was only seldom employed. On the other hand wood-tar was sometimes used, as well as a *black derived from India*, which is probably identical with our Indian ink, and so likewise represented a product from soot.

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